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„Monolingual Multilingualism?

European Language Policy and the Role of English as a Lingua Franca"

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Abstract

The European Union based on „unity in diversity" has 27 official languages. EU language policy attempts to promote this diversity and multilingualism through the *mother tongue + 2* policy and claims that "English is not enough". However, in the age of globalization the power and dominance of English is undisputed and thus it is necessary to examine the role of English in the EU. The present study should therefore investigate the effectiveness of EU language policy as well as the role of English for multilingualism in the EU. A description of various European language policy documents is compared to three recently published studies on the actual linguistic situation in the EU, in order to see the discrepancy between policy and reality. Next an outline of the historical development of national languages in Europe is created so that existing language ideologies that still influence language policies today can be understood. An analysis of the controversy in linguistic research about the dominance and power of English globally as well as on a European level shows that this topic is still highly debated and accordance has not yet been reached. In the last part of this thesis an alternative to overcome traditional ideologies and conceptualizations of English and multilingualism is described in the paper, namely English as a lingua franca. ELF research describes English in communicative situations where the interlocutors do not share one native language but use English instead. Recent conceptualizations of ELF are analyzed with special focus to identity and community. In addition to that, multilingualism is described from a holistic point of view. The results of the analysis of policies and studies shows that there is an immense gap between EU language policy and reality and traditional ideologies and attitudes based on *one nation – one language – one identity* do not fulfil new demands in the EU. Furthermore the investigation on theories on English as a lingua franca (e.g. Cogo 2012; House 2008; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011) suggests that it is a multilingual mode that supports multilingualism, individuality and cooperation. The findings of this thesis reveal that it is necessary to adapt EU language policy to the linguistic reality in Europe. To overcome inequalities and bring Europeans closer together the results show that it is necessary to leave ample scope to English as a lingua franca in the support of multilingualism and EU language policy

1. Introduction

> Cultural diversity is guaranteed much more by the free-flowing traffic and the encounters between people in one language community in which they can clash and argue, than by the fact that some people can speak more than one language – and all those languages may basically represent the same culture. (De Swaan 2008 quoted in Wright 2009: 113)

A small city in Italy, Treviso. Fourteen students from different European countries take part in a four day event organized by the student organization AEGEE. Those fourteen students come from Germany, Spain, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Austria and Italy. They sleep in a house outside the city, on mattresses. The reason why they all travelled to Treviso? These young European university students are eager to see new places, meet new people and experience new cultures. One evening of every AEGEE event is called European night. For this special event the students bring one typical food and one typical beverage from their home countries. Together they cook and talk about traditions, politics and culture. But how do these fourteen students with different cultural backgrounds and mother tongues communicate? They all speak English; but not exclusively. In smaller groups they use whatever languages they learned and speak. Thus the students learning Spanish at university try to speak Spanish with their friend from Barcelona. But whenever the communication breaks down, or whenever there are students involved who cannot speak Spanish they switch to English. At table conversations, whenever someone is looking for the English word, other students will offer solutions. Yes, language is an important element in these encounters. The young Europeans use English, as it is the only language they all speak. And in addition to that they are eager to learn new words in other languages and improve their language skills in other foreign languages. And for none of them is it a problem to use English. The only problem is that some of them speak English more fluently and are able to adapt to the intercultural communicative situation more easily.

Two years ago I worked as an assistant teacher in Treviso. Besides the many experiences I gained through the work with my middle school students, I also met members of the university students' organization AEGEE. They welcomed me into their group and were enthusiastic about their new member from Austria. During

the event I was able to experience how young European students meet and work together. I realized that they all speak English well enough to communicate, celebrate and laugh together. And thus I was wondering, why English is still not the official language of the European Union and how much we know about languages, language ideologies, the role of English and multilingualism in the politically formed European Union. What are the goals of European language policies? Is there data on the linguistic situation in the EU? How much does the reality reflect policy measurements? What are the historical reasons for language attitude, linguistic situations and the status of English in the EU? And what is the role of English as a Lingua Franca in the EU? How does the conceptualization of this very special English fit into EU language policy? And how exactly can multilingualism, the main goal of all EU language policy, be defined?

Linguistic research on language policies focuses to a great deal on countries shaped by linguistic policy measurements influenced by colonialism. Brutt-Griffler (2002), Mufwene (2002) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) for example examine linguistic rights and diversity/vitality, bilingualism, minority languages and the role of English mostly in countries influenced by colonialism. A lot of research is also aimed at the description of bi-and multilingualism in countries such as Canada, India or the USA. The study of multilingualism in the EU is a rather newly developed field of research and for example House (2006; 2008), Hülmbauer (2010), Seidlhofer (e.g. 2010) examine English, English as a Lingua Franca and multilingualism in the European context. Wright (2004; 2009) on the other hand looks at the linguistic situation in Europe from a historical point of view and asks the critical question: "Who benefits from a plurality of lingua francas [English and French]?" (Wright 2009: 109).

It is the aim of this thesis to examine EU language policies from different perspectives taking into consideration historical developments, the conceptualization of English as a Lingua Franca and new insights in the study of multilingualism. The description of historical developments helps to better understand the reasons behind existing language policies which support multilingualism and work against the establishment of one common European language. The confrontation of a detailed analysis of EU policy documents with an

examination of three recently published surveys on languages in the EU will provide evidence for the assumption that there is a gap between policy and reality. And the description of main features of the ELF concept with special focus on issues of community and identity as well as an analysis of multilingualism in the EU show a way to overcome ideologically influenced language beliefs and discrepancies between EU policy and the linguistic reality.

> It also seems sensible that policy-makers should work with what is happening and not try to block it. A lingua franca allows contact and exchange across borders and permits the circulation of knowledge. A single lingua franca does this more effectively than a number of different languages shared by different constellations of groups. A lingua franca is of general benefit to Europeans. (Wright 2009: 114)

The following thesis examines existing EU language policy and its development since the foundation of the EU. Due to complexity of every EU policy and especially language policy it is necessary to describe and analyze in great detail the diverse goals and tools of EU language policy. A special focus will lie on recent developments and the most important of all EU language policy, the *mother tongue + 2* policy. In order to maintain and support diversity and multilingualism the EU set the goal that every European citizen should be able communicate in two languages in addition to their mother tongue.

As a next step, three recently published surveys will be analyzed. The first study, *Europeans and their Languages 2012*, describes the linguistic situation in the EU and examines various aspects of languages. Europeans of all Member States were asked to self-assess their language competences in all of their additional languages. Furthermore they were asked about their attitudes towards multilingualism, foreign language learning and motivation. Some of the results are also compared to a similar study from 2005 and hence it will be possible to see changes in the linguistic situation in Europe. The second study, *First European Survey on Language Competences 2012*, is the first survey investigating actual language competences based on standard descriptors of the *Common European Framework of Reference, CEFR.* This will add to the first study as it does not rely on subjective self-evaluation but describes actual language competences similar to other international standard tests such as PISA. The last study analyzed in this thesis is *Languages in Europe Towards 2020.* It describes a European wide project with

participants from various research fields who were asked to discuss issues related to European multilingualism and create policy recommendations. As part of this project university students were interviewed about their attitudes towards languages and especially English. The qualitative analysis of the interviews complements the two quantitative studies as it paints a detailed picture of young Europeans' perception of multilingualism and English in the EU.

While Chapter 2 is mainly concerned with current linguistic issues in the EU, Chapter 3 examines languages during the course of European history and state formation. Firstly it will be discussed in how far languages are essential for states and identification with the state. Then a closer look at the spread of English worldwide and in Europe illustrates the reasons behind the fear of a dominance of English in common people's minds and in some linguistic research. Both parts are aimed at clarifying the traditional and ideological bond between nation, languages and identities. As a next step the concept of English as a Lingua Franca, ELF, is described. ELF occurs in communicative situations in which English is the common language of communication for the interlocutors. The implications of the concept of ELF in a European context for standard language norms, community and identity will be discussed in detail. EU language policy is shaped by the main goal to maintain and support multilingualism. Therefore Chapter 5 is dedicated to different definitions of multilingualism. Especially interesting in this matter is the recent trend to view languages and multilingualism from a holistic point of view. The implications of this change in perspective for the EU will be analyzed.

All of these chapters describe different parts important and essential in EU language policy. The last chapter, the conclusion, brings the different strands together, compares them, opposes them and draws conclusions from the findings in different areas of linguistic research. The description of the actual current policy and linguistic reality is analyzed in relation to traditional and ideologically influenced attitudes towards languages, multilingualism and English. And new conceptualizations of English as ELF and multilingualism from a holistic point of view should show a solution to overcome the discrepancy between policy, history and linguistic reality in the EU.

2. Language in the EU. Policy and Reality

2.1. Language Policy – General Aspects

> It seems to me that Your Majesty should order that all the Indians learn the Mexican language, for in every village today there are many Indians who know it and learn it easily, and a very great number who confess in that language. It is an extremely elegant language, as elegant as any in the world. A grammar and dictionary of it have been written, and many parts of the Holy Scriptures have been translated into it; and collections of sermons have been made, and some friars are very great linguists in it.
> - Fray Rodrigo de la Cruz, in Mexico, to Emperor Charles V, letter of May (March?) 4 1550 (Cuevas 1914 quoted in Ostler 2010: 173)

Under the rule of Charles V Nahuatl, what is referred to as the *Mexican language* in the quote above, experienced a great expansion and it was the emperor's vision to teach both languages, Spanish and Nahuatl, in Mexico (Hinz 2008: 28). This goal was, however, not achieved until 2003, when a law was passed to protect linguistic rights and to promote indigenous languages (http://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/details.jsp?id=9302, 10 March 2013).

This example should illustrate the importance and power of language policies, which are influenced by non linguistic factors such as the economy, society, culture and demography (Rindler Schjerve & Vetter 2012: 115). It is interesting that although Charles V supported the indigenous language Nahuatl in the 16th century, it took until the 21st century to actually pass a law to protect it. Language policies are not only important for the vitality of languages but it also takes time and effort to pass laws concerning linguistic questions.

According to Berhoud and Lüdi (2011: 479), language policies aim to influence the linguistic behavior of a language community, a nation or, in the case of the European Union, a political area. This can be achieved through *explicit* or *covert interventions* (Berhoud & Lüdi 2011: 479; Kremnitz 1994: 80).

Kremnitz (1994: 48) states that explicit language policies have only evolved during the Renaissance, with the growing importance of the written language for administration, trade and science. As the codification of vernaculars developed,

first explicit language policies emerged, for example, in the statutes of Kilkenny 1366 which prohibited the use of Irish for those living with the English (O'Fiaich 1969: 102 qtd in Kremnitz 1994: 48). Explicit policies do not only regulate national languages, but also the tolerance and status of minority languages, such as the status of German as an official language in the region Alto Adige in Italy. Moreover, according to Berhoud and Lüdi (2011: 479) these explicit, also called *direct* and *open*, policies are accompanied by language legislations that regulate linguistic rights. An example of such language legislation can be found in Canada's Constitution Act 1867 (http://www.unesco.org/most/lncanada.htm, 10 March 2013) which coordinates the equal use of English and French in any official debates, records and issuing.

Although these *explicit language policies* are of great importance for this paper, as most language policies in the European Union are explicit, the influence and importance of *implicit policies* should not be underestimated. Instead of prescribing the use of a particular language, the positive effects this use could have on a person's social mobility are fostered by authorities. As a result the dominance of this language is pushed implicitly

An important concept closely linked to language policy is language planning. In some literature language planning is a part of language policy (Berthoud & Lüdi 2011: 479), others such as Grin (2003: 28) and Schiffman (1998: 18) distinguish between the influence of language policy on the position (status) of a language and the influence of language planning on the language itself as a result of language policy. In contrast, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: xi) describe language policy as the result of language planning. According to them, language planning consists of *status, corpus* and *acquisition* planning and hence includes Grin's and Schiffman's concept of language policy, that is the influence on the status of a language. Status planning is concerned with external factors such as social concerns while corpus planning focuses on linguistic features of a language (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997: 30; 38). Acquisition planning, or "language-in-education planning" (ibid.: 121) influences language teaching. Spolsky (2004: 5) describes language policy as consisting of three elements, namely *language practice* (the selection of varieties that form a linguistic repertoire), *language belief* (belief about languages) and

language intervention/planning (modification of language practice). Thus similarly to Berthoud and Lüdi, also Spolsky defines language planning as one part of language policy.

Generally speaking, language policy and language planning are two interrelated concepts; both essential for any influence on language behaviour and thus the phenomenon will henceforward be referred to as LPP (language policy and planning) similarly to recent publications such as Rindler Schjerve and Vetter (2011).

Prior, the description of actual European LPP, an outline of the language planning process created by Berthoud and Lüdi (2011: 480) should set the ground to a clearer understanding of the steps involved in European LPP. Further developing Haugen's (1938) and Kaplan and Baldauf's model (1997), they define seven factors involved in language planning. The following chart 2.1. should illustrate their model:

Who	plans what	for whom	for what ends	for the benefit of whom	under what conditions	how.
élites, influentials …	which behaviors are to be influenced …	type of target …	overt, latent …	dominant group, language minorities, commerical interests, symbolic benefits	context	authority, force promotion …

Chart 2.1 based on Berthoud and Lüdi (2011: 480)

Accordingly in every language planning there is a group of people who plan the process. This group could be influentials, politicians, linguists and others. They plan what part of a language they seek to influence, for example a speech community's linguistic behavior, linguistic practice or other external factors such as the status of a language. The targets of the language planning could be nations, speech communities, linguistic minorities and many more diverse constellations of people affected by the planning. Furthermore Berthoud and Lüdi's model takes into consideration the profiteers of the language planning which can be for

example minorities but also dominant groups. It is also necessary to consider under what conditions an intervention is planned. In other words how does the context also influence language planning? And the last aspect in this model is concerned with the question how the intervention is implemented (by authorities, force etc.).

In accordance with this outline the following chapters will analyze European LPP taking into account who is the driving force behind European multilingualism, what concrete plans have been made, who the LPP addresses, which groups might profit from these LPP and for which groups it will be an obstacle, what the conditions in the EU for LPP are and how the EU aims to influence its citizens' linguistic behaviour.

2.2. Language Policy and Planning in the EU

> The European Union calls for further action in this field: to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age […]. (Presidency Conclusion - Barcelona European Council 2002)

"United in diversity", the official motto of the European Union, is the basis for European policy-making and is also visible in the principle of subsidiarity (Treaty on European Union Article 5). Hence diversity is fostered and action is not forced upon the member states but it is the member states, on national or even local level, which have to take action. Both the European motto and the principle of subsidiarity play a crucial role in European LPP and both factors can at times be interpreted as obstacles to effective LPP.

From its early days onward the EU, originally the EEC, was built in order to create a common market on the ground of equality for all member states. Already in the *Treaty of Rome* (1957) it is stated that "any discrimination on the grounds of nationality shall be prohibited" (Article 7). This first declaration of equality and the recognition of the EEC's diversity are the fundament for later LPP and the reason for today's variety of 23 official and working languages in the European Union. While in 1958 only four languages were regarded official and working languages

this changed over time due to the expansion of the EU (http://ec.europa.eu/languages/languages-of-europe/eu-languages_en.htm, 11 March 2013).

In the decades following the foundation of the EEC, languages were not the focus of any policy and only in the course of the creation of a shared European identity, languages were regarded as an integral part of the newly renamed European Union, former European Community. In 1992 the *Treaty of Maastricht* did not only regulate the implementation of a European currency and higher cooperation in foreign policy as well as justice and home affairs (http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/1990-1999/index_en.htm, 11 March 2013), but it also acknowledged the importance of languages for the European Union. Besides the translation of all policy texts (OJ 191 1992, Declaration 29) it was furthermore decided that "Community action shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States" (OJ 191 1992, Article 126.2). In this statement languages are linked to teaching and the advancement of the so-called European dimension. Although this term is not defined in the document it could be understood as a part of every Member State's curriculum to foster the understanding of European ideologies and values. Furthermore the implementation of the "European dimension" in the educational systems of Member States, which according to Article 126.2 is achieved through language teaching, is a first step to create a European identity with a better understanding of the diversity of the EU. Hence, although the term identity is not yet used, there is clearly a link between language education and a better understanding of the EU.

It is three years later, in 1995, when the terms multilingualism and identity are used for the first time in one statement, namely the *White Paper on Education and Training*: "Multilingualism is part and parcel of both European identity/citizenship and the learning society." (COM (95) 590: 47). Along with the link between languages and European identity, one of five objectives in building a learning society is the teaching of two languages in addition to the mother tongue (ibid.). For almost twenty years the EU has had the goal to implement this *mother tongue +*

2 policy in its member states' curricula and it will be discussed later in how far this LPP has or has not influenced the linguistic situation in the EU.

The Lisbon Declaration published in 2000 laid the foundation of the knowledge-based society and economy by suggesting ways to reform the economy and increase social cohesion. In this document learning foreign languages is one of many skills which should support the creation of a knowledge-based society and "a European Framework should define the new basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning: IT skills, foreign languages, technological culture [...]" (Presidency Conclusion – Lisbon European Council 2000). The "instrumentalisation of languages", as it is called by Krzyzanowski and Wodak in their article on the impact of the Lisbon strategy on multilingualism (2011: 124), is a clear indicator of the importance of languages for the European economy. The economy which was the basis of the foundation of the EEC in the 1950s and is until today a reason for the EU's stability despite an economic crises. At the same time the authors point out that the instrumentalization limits the power of languages to one of many skills important for the economy and does not value its significance in other areas (ibid.).

In 2001 the initiative *European Year of Languages* was aimed at raising awareness and further developing foreign language teaching in the EU. Five objectives described the goals of the *Year of Languages*, namely to raise awareness of the EU's linguistic diversity and its value, support multilingualism, explain benefits of learning a language, encourage lifelong learning and compile information and strategies on language teaching and learning (OJ L232 2000: 3).

The *Presidency Conclusion of the Barcelona European Council* in 2002 declared that it was necessary to create a linguistic competence indicator in order to foster the *mother tongue + 2* policy first mentioned in 1995 (Presidency Conclusion – Barcelona European Countil 2002: 19). This declaration as well as the *Action Plan 2004-2006* published in 2003 led to the establishment of a *Framework for the European Survey on Language Competence* in 2007. Consequently in 2012 the First European Survey on Language Competences was published. The results of this survey will be discussed in chapter 2.3.

The aforementioned *Action Plan 2004-2006* (COM (2003) 449) recommended 45 actions to be taken which can be divided into three areas: "[...] extending the benefits of life-long language learning to all citizens, improving language teaching, and creating a more language-friendly environment." (COM (2003) 449: 6). Moreover it is explicitly stated that "English alone is not enough" (ibid: 4) clearly indicating that despite the prevalence of English it is the EU's goal to foster multilingualism.

According to Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2011: 126) this first period of European LPP is characterized by the influence of the Lisbon strategy. According to their analysis of the semantic fields used in the EU's LPP publications during this phase the focus is not on multilingualism as such but on topics linked to languages for example foreign language learning or language skills (ibid). This changes with the beginning of the second period (ibid: 127), the addition of multilingualism to the European Commissioner's portfolio and the publication of the *New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism* in 2005 (COM (2005) 596).

In 2005 the term multilingualism is defined for the first time as follows: "Multilingualism refers to both a person's ability to use several languages and the co-existence of different language communities in one geographical area." (COM (2005) 596: 3). This definition shows the two areas in which the EU LPP is (or should be) effective. On the one hand, EU LPP aims at supporting individual multilingualism through lifelong language learning and teaching two foreign languages from an early age onwards. On the other hand, it is the EU LPP's goal to maintain linguistic diversity and protect minority language communities' rights. Moreover the link between languages and culture is described as "Language is the most direct expression of culture; it is what makes us human and what gives each of us a sense of identity" (ibid: 2). For the first time it is clearly stated that besides economic factors, languages are important for the individual as they are part of everybody's culture and identity. Although the identity factor is not mentioned in the three aims of the document, it is listed as one of the reasons why the EU promotes multilingualism on the European Commission's homepage on Languages under the category *frequently asked questions* (http://ec.europa.eu/languages/orphans/faq_en.htm#8, 12 March 2013).

The three major aims of the EU's multilingualism LPP are listed in this document:

> - to encourage language learning and promoting linguistic diversity in society;
> - to promote a healthy multilingual economy, and
> - to give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages." (COM (2005) 596: 3)

In contrast to earlier documents on EU LPP the *New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism* combines several facets on a social, economic and legal level. Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2011: 129) point out that the third aim, listed above, links the ideological concept of democracy with the importance of languages but at the same time it describes what they refer to as "monolingual multilingualism" (ibid). This term describes the contradiction in EU LPP namely the promotion of multilingualism and the teaching of foreign language while at the same time every citizen has the right to use their first language in order to communicate with the EU (also understood passively so that the EU must provide information in various languages). It remains unclear in the document how this goal can be achieved taking into account the vast variety of first languages in the EU, not only official languages but also minority as well as immigrant languages. In the following chapters this aspect of multilingualism, affecting minority and immigrant languages, will not be further discussed but the focus will lie on individual and societal multilingualism as well as the status and importance of English in the EU LPP. For further information on minority and immigrant languages in the EU see for example Taylor (1993), Reich (1991) and Guus (1998, 2004, 2006).

In addition to the first definition of multilingualism and the three aims of the *New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism* it is important to notice that the statement already mentioned in the Action Plan 2004-2006 concerning English is again emphasized: "English is not enough" (COM (2005) 596: 6).

Besides this core document on European LPP a High Level Group on Multilingualism has been established in 2005 as a consequence of the Framework Strategy's suggestions (Press release IP/06/1221 2006). In their final report published in 2007 they advocate the "creation of a portfolio for multilingualism" (Final Report – High Level Group on Multilingualism 2007: 6). This came into being

in 2007 (Rindler Schjerve & Vetter 2012: 44) until it was again moved back to the EU Commissioner for Education, Culture and Youth in 2010 .

The third phase according to Krzyzanowski and Wodak's model starts with the creation of a separate portfolio in 2007 and is characterized by the publication of the document *Multilingualism: An Asset for Europe and a shared Commitment* in 2008 (COM (2008) 566). This document represents a paradigm shift in EU LPP as it concentrates on the individual and its goal is to promote linguistic diversity as an opportunity and advantage for every EU citizen. It is stated that multilingualism has a positive influence on social cohesion, prosperity and it is linked to the concept of *lifelong learning*. Moreover it is described how the media and new technologies play a crucial role in the promotion of multilingualism and in how far it is also a competence with positive effects on the communication with countries outside the EU. Looking at the structure of this document it can be observed that again social and cultural as well as economic benefits are the main arguments for the EU LPP. Individual advantages such as employability (COM (2008) 566: 8) are described as well as positive effects of societal multilingualism (ibid.: 6) and both advantages of multilingualism can be achieved through teaching and promoting linguistic diversity in the media. Moreover various battle fields concerning EU LPP are thrown together such as the situation of migrant languages, the position of languages in the EU economy or the vast field of (language) teaching. It seems that this document seeks to combine different areas of EU LPP which have been integrated in the LPP since 1992. Furthermore these areas should serve as arguments for the promotion of multilingualism as an individual's asset. Well-known buzzwords such as intercultural dialogue, benefit, competitiveness, linguistic skills, employability and lifelong learning support the document's line of argumentation. But again, as in all other documents analyzed in this chapter, there is no explanation of why it is exactly the "mother-tongue + 2" policy through which the above mentioned can be achieved. In none of the documents reasons for the promotion of exactly *two* foreign languages can be found. Neither does any EU LPP provide answers to the following critical questions:

- Why is it recommended that immigrants should learn the host's country official language but it is not explicitly suggested that these host countries should teach

their immigrants' languages in order to foster mutual understanding? On the contrary, it is mentioned that European world languages (COM (2008) 566: 14) are an asset and immigrants are rather downgraded to motivators for "classmates to learn different languages" (ibid: 6). Although there have been some attempts to promote the teaching of immigrant languages (Press release IP/08/129 2008), the support of immigrants' languages is not mentioned in the two main documents on multilingualism (COM (2005) 596; COM (2008) 566) or the homepage for languages in the EU.

- In how far are the so called "European world languages" important and necessary for European businesses? Would it not be necessary to focus on the importance of English, Chinese and Russian for business communication?

- In order to foster intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding why is it important to learn *two* foreign languages? As both concepts are based on a better understanding of other cultures, tradition and false stereotypes, is language teaching really enough? Can speaking a language (the EU does not define any level of competence) be the solution to intercultural misunderstandings? Is there actually enough room in language teaching for the teaching of intercultural understanding? Or would it be more effective to create a separate subject focusing on the issues linked to intercultural dialogue and mutual understanding?

Furthermore the language planning outline introduced in chapter 2.1 needs to be considered when looking at EU LPP, that is "Who plans what for whom for what ends for the benefit of whom under what conditions how?".

Who are the agents of LPP? Who supports the LPP on multilingualism and *mother-tongue + 2*? As all member states seek to guarantee equal power relations in the EU, it is also their goal to not discriminate between languages. More powerful countries such as Germany and France are important forces behind the equal use of their national languages in the institutions of the EU. It is exactly these languages in addition to Spanish and some Italian that can keep their position in the EU. Besides political forces in the EU, linguists also influence EU LPP in their

recommendations and analysis of data on the linguistic situation in the EU (e.g. Civil Society Platform on Multilingualism, High Level Group on Multilingualism). In addition to that, another important factor in EU LPP is the influence of the European economy and the demands for EU citizens on the labour market.

What exactly is it, the EU plans? EU LPP aims at supporting and increasing multilingualism in the Union not only on a national level but across national boundaries so that every European knows two languages in addition to their national language (or heritage language in the case of immigrants). It remains unclear which level of competence needs to be achieved. So far recommendations and documents published by the EU consider all language equally important without describing certain imbalances in language learning in the EU. And although the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages published and revised in the 1990's describes various language competence levels, it has so far not entered EU LPP as it does not serve as a descriptor for the desired foreign language competence in the EU.

Who is the target of EU LPP? Most EU LPP is targeted at every EU citizen but most initiatives have only led to changes in language teaching. Hence so far the influence of EU LPP can almost exclusively be observed in children and students.

For what ends? Some of the reasons for EU LPP and the support of multilingualism have already been discussed in this chapter. Generally it can be said that a shift in argumentation can be observed over the last years, as the focus does not only lie on the economy and higher competitiveness but also on the creation of a common European identity and a better understanding of other cultures and cooperation between the member states. Moreover the support of linguistic diversity also serves a symbolic political image that has accompanied the EU since its foundation in the late 1950s. In treating every language equally, the EU covertly also promotes and supports its own foundation and hinders conflicts on the basis of linguistic inequalities.

For the benefit of whom? A crucial part of every policy and especially of linguistic policy and planning are the profiteers of it. In the case of multilingualism in the EU the goal is that every European citizen as well as the European economy profit

from the LPP. Moreover the support of European multilingualism has also a symbolic value as it stands for the equal treatment of all member states. While this symbolic value helps European policy makers and supports the promotion of an efficient EU policy, the overtly stated profiteers are the European citizens and the economy. But at the same time the European multilingual LPP in reality seems to favour the big languages English, French, German, Spanish and sometimes Italian, as will be discussed in the next chapters. The role of minority languages in EU LPP has only gained importance in the last years and so far it looks as though there is still an imbalance in languages taught in Europe. It could therefore be assumed that through EU LPP for a long time speakers of the "big" languages have profited while speakers of minority languages and immigrant languages have not.

In which context does LPP occur? Here it should be mentioned again that the complex structure of the EU influences the efficiency of changes in the linguistic situation and behaviour of its citizens. For a long time the importance and role of languages in the EU did not receive enough attention and only with the addition of multilingualism to the portfolio of the European Commissioner, then the creation of a separate portfolio and lastly the repositioning of the portfolio to the EU Commissioner for Education, Culture and Youth allowed for more attention to the topic. Nevertheless the principle of subsidiarity, the political structure as well as the power relations in the EU impose restrictions to the efficiency of LPP.

How is the LPP implemented? As already discussed in great detail, the support of multilingualism and the *mother-tongue + 2* policy cannot be forced upon the member states. Nevertheless the EU tries to achieve their goal by promoting linguistic diversity and advantages of language learning and they support their reasoning with publications by expert groups as well as data on the linguistic situation in the EU.

2.3. European LPP Overview

As has been shown in the chapters above, EU LPP is complex. Over the last 50 years various amendments changed the purpose and focus of EU LPP. The chart on the next page illustrates the most important milestones in EU LPP. It is divided into the three phases described by Krzyanowski and Wodak (2011) and arranged chronologically. In the very right column the most significant quotations from the policy documents illustrate the main focus of each publication.

EUROPEAN LPP OVERVIEW			
PHASE 1	1957	Treaty of Rome	"Any discrimination on grounds of nationality shall be prohibited." (Art. 7)
	1992	Treaty of Maastricht	"Community action shall be aimed at developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States." (Art. 126.2)
	1995	White Paper on Education & Training	"Multilingualism is part and parcel of both European identity/citizenship and the learning society" (COM (95) 590: 47)
	2000	Lisbon Declaration	"A European Framework should define the new basic skills to be provided through lifelong learning: IT skills, foreign languages, technological culture […]"
	2001	European Year of Languages	
	2002	Barcelona Council	"[…] to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age" (19)
	2003	Action Plan 2004-06	"[…] extending the benefits of lifelong language learning to all citizens, improving language teaching, and creating a more language-friendly environment" (6) "English alone is not enough" (4)
PHASE 2	2004	Multilingualism in Portfolio of European Commissioner	
	2005	The New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism	"Multilingualism is both a person's ability to use several languages and the coexistence of different language communities in one geographical area." (COM (05) 596: 3) "[…] – to encourage language learning and promoting linguistic diversity in society; - to promote a healthy multilingual economy and - to give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages" (ibid) "English is not enough." (ibid: 4)
	2006	High Level Group on Mulitlingualism	"[…] regards the creation of a portfolio for multilingualism as being more than the uniting, under one Commissioner […], and also more than an acknowledgement of the interdependence of the various multilingual activities" (6)
PHASE 3	2007	Separate Commission's Portfolio	
	2008	Multilingualism: An Asset for Europe and a shared Commitment	"[…] raise awareness of the value and opportunities of the EU's linguistic diversity and the removal of barriers to intercultural dialogue" (COM (08) 566: 5)
	2010	Portfolio to the EU Commissioner for Education, Culture & Youth	

2.4. Actual Linguistic Situation in the EU

In order to analyze the efficiency and status of LPP and languages in the EU it is necessary to look at the actual linguistic situation in the Union. Hence the following chapter is dedicated to the description of three studies conducted by the EU. The study *Europeans and their Languages* (June 2012) investigates various aspect of languages in the EU. It examines how many languages other than the mother-tongue[1] are spoken in the EU, which additional languages are spoken, how often and in which situations these languages are used and it also looks at the attitudes to language learning as well as to multilingualism. Some parts in this study are compared to a similar study conducted in 2005. This allows for an interpretation of the effects of EU LPP in this period of time. In addition to this study, an analysis of the recently published *First European Survey on Language Competences* (June 2012) will demonstrate the language competence of pupils in 14 European countries. The third study was published as part of a project called *Languages in Europe, Theory, Policy and Practice* (2010). In the course of the one year project University students were interviewed about their opinions on multilingualism and the dominance of English as well as about their foreign language competences.

2.4.1. Europeans and their Languages 2012

The survey was conducted among 26.751 participants from the 27 Member States of the EU and it was based on a similar survey from 2005. Although parts of it are very similar some questions have been adapted or omitted. Moreover in 2005 25 Member States plus Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey and Croatia took part in the survey; in 2012 Bulgaria and Romania have already been part of the EU27 and Turkey and Croatia were not included in the new version. It is not clear how many participants are from which country but it should be assumed that the number of participants represents the size of each member state.

The first part of the survey explores the amount of foreign languages spoken, the variety of these foreign languages as well as a personal evaluation of the language

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[1] As linguist I would rather use the term "L1" or "heritage language", but as the term "mother-tongue" is used in the study I will also use it, although I am aware of the pitfalls of this terminology

competence. According to these results a little more than half of the Europeans state that they know at least one additional language well enough in order to have a conversation, one quarter claims they are able to do this in at least two additional languages and 46% do not speak any additional well enough (Europeans and their Languages 2012: 12). Although there is a slight decrease in people claiming they speak an additional language well enough in comparison to 2005, this can be explained with the adaption of the questionnaire in 2012 according to this survey. Two important terms in this question remain undefined, which could lead to different interpretations of the question and hence might falsify the results. It is not clear which level of language competence is necessary to have a conversation. Is it already a conversation to buy a train ticket in Italy at the counter? Does the conversation have to take place with a native speaker? How sophisticated are the topics of these conversations? The definition is not clear and hence a question that already relies on a personal self-evaluation is even less reliable due to the ambiguity in terminology. Moreover the wording in the answers is debatable as there is no overt reason behind the use of "at least" in front of the number of languages spoken. As a consequence, looking only at the chart it seems at a first glance that a lot more people are able to speak an additional foreign language than those who claim to not speak any additional language well enough. Only after a closer analysis it becomes clear that the people speaking at least one additional language and those who ticked "none" result in 100%. Thus those who ticked "at least 2" and "at least 3" have to be part of the first group and so the overall ratio namely 54% ("at least 1") to 46% ("none") remains unchanged.

Despite these ambiguities some important numbers can be deducted from this question. Still, and most importantly, almost half of the Europeans are not able to hold a conversation in an additional language (according to their own judgement). When it comes to the EU's goal of *mother-tongue + 2* it can be observed that a quarter of Europeans is able to this. These numbers have not changed significantly in comparison to 2005 except for the changes due to an adapted questionnaire. In only eight member states a majority of the participants are able to hold a conversation in at least two additional languages (e.g. Luxembourg, Netherlands, Slovenia, Malta, and Denmark). On the contrast to this, participants from Portugal, Hungary, the UK and Greece are rarely able to speak at least two languages (ibid.

13). The highest increase in people speaking two additional languages can be observed in Italy and Ireland (ibid. 16).

A closer look at the demographic patterns (ibid. 18) reveals that younger participants, age 15-24 and 25-39, as well as students, managers and people who use the internet on a daily bases are above the EU27 average when it comes to speaking additional languages. Age, occupation, use of internet and social position are influential factors in language knowledge. Younger participants most likely have experienced changes in language teaching as an effect of EU LPP, and especially people older than 40 have not been affected by any LPP initiatives.

The next question which is of special interest for this thesis refers to the different languages that are spoken. English is the most widely spoken language with 38% of participants claiming to speak it well enough to have a conversation (ibid. 19). This percentage has not changed over the last seven years. In contrast to that, the knowledge of other major European languages seems to be decreasing. Fewer people indicate to speak French (12% in 2012, 14% in 2005) and German (11% in 2012, 14% in 2005) well enough to communicate.

In 19 countries the most widely known AL is English (ibid. 21). In the 6 countries, where English is not a national language and also not the most widely known language according to the data provided, very specific linguistic situations need to be examined. In the three Baltic ex Soviet Republic countries, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the most widely known AL is Russian. The reason for Russian to be still number one in these countries is of course the fact that until some years ago Russian was the only additional language learned. Interestingly in Estonia English, after the separation from Russia, is only 6 percentage points after Russian. This indicates a trend that might lead to a change in numbers for the next few years. It is likely that in some years English will also be on first place in these countries. Another exception to the English language trend is Slovakia, formerly part of the Czechoslovakia, where the most widely known AL is Czech and Slovenia with the number one AL Croatian. Similar to the Baltic countries this can be explained through influences from the recent political past that is still visible today. In Slovenia the difference between AL ranked number one and AL number two

(English) is only two percentage points. Again, today's number one in Slovenia is likely to drop in ranks due to the worldwide English trend. The last exception is Luxembourg, a country with a complicated linguistic situation, where the most widely spoken AL are French and German. Still 56% indicate English as their known AL.

To sum up, in 19 states English is the most widely known AL and in all exceptions the numbers can be explained as remains of old state structures or in the case of Luxembourg as a result of the linguistic situation in the state. It is very likely that at least in 5 of the exceptions in the near future English will become number one AL. Considering the special situation in these 6 countries one could draw the conclusion that in fact already today 100% of the EU27 have as the most predominant common language English. Regardless of all policies promoting linguistic equality and diversity an actual European lingua franca already exists.

In the second part of the survey the focus lies on the language use (ibid. 41). When it comes to the frequency of language use a clear trend is that the first additional language is more likely to be used almost every day while the third additional language is most likely to be used only occasionally. In general more people claim they use any additional language only occasionally (50% 1st AL, 65% 2nd AL, 69% 3rd AL). Moreover there is a drastic decrease of people using the language every day/almost everyday from the first additional language (24%) to the second and third additional language (8% and 6%).

In addition to the frequency of use it was also investigated in which situations additional languages are used. In linguistic terminology these situations represent different domains of language use. Most often Europeans use their first additional language on holidays (45%), when watching films/TV (34%), on the internet (34%), when communicating with friends (31%), for conversations at work (25%) and when reading books/newspapers (24%). The same order of importance remains for their second AL but there is a higher difference between percentages for the answer "on holidays" (42%) and when watching films/TV (23%). Hence while there is a rather linear decrease in frequency of use for the first AL, the

second AL seems to be used more often when on holidays but significantly less in other domains.

Overall trends in the demographic distribution of language use in different domains are summarized in the document as follows (ibid. 52). Almost twice as many men than women use an additional language when they are on business trips. Younger people are by far more likely to use an AL when surfing the internet (50% and 19%) and when watching films or TV. Moreover participants living in large towns use an AL more often when communicating with friends and on the internet than people in rural areas.

In the third part of the survey language attitudes are investigated, namely the advantages of learning a foreign language, which languages are most useful, what motivates people to learn an additional language and attitudes to multilingualism in general (ibid. 62 onwards). The main advantages of learning a language are being able to work in another country (61%), for work in general (53%), on holidays (47%), to get a better job (45%), to study in another country (43%), to understand people from other cultures (38%), for personal satisfaction (29%) and to meet people from other cultures (29%). It is interesting to note that Europeans claim that they use their additional languages mainly in the private domain (on holidays, watching films, on the internet etc.) while the primary advantages when learning an additional language are situated in the professional domain (work in another country, at work, better job etc.). Moreover it should be mentioned that people from "old" EU15 rather state advantages in the private domain (e.g.: understand people from other cultures 41%) than Europeans from the "new" member states (28%).

When it comes to the most useful languages for Europeans' personal development most of the participants declare English as their first choice (65%) (ibid. 69). Other languages such as German, French and Spanish are only mentioned by around 16%. The most significant drop in percentage can be observed for German with a loss of 5 points and French with 9 points less than in 2005.

Highest motivation for learning an additional language could be achieved through free language lessons (29%), payment for learning a language (19%), learning the language in the target country (18%) and better career prospects (18%).

The last part of the survey examines various aspects of a multilingual LPP and asks in how far Europeans agree. Around 84% of Europeans think that everyone should speak at least one additional language. And still 72% agree that Europeans should speak at least two AL. Moreover almost 70% think that everyone in the EU should be able to communicate in one common language and more than half of the Europeans agree that the European institutions should use one language to communicate with its citizens. It is important for 81% that all languages are treated equally and 77% think that the improvement of language skills in the Union should be a policy priority. Less than half of the Europeans prefer subtitles.

2.4.2. First European Survey on Language Competences 2012

As the title already suggests this is the first survey on language competences conducted in the EU. It is a result of the *New Framwork Strategy on Multilingualism* which led to the establishment of a *Framework for the European Survey on Language Competence* in 2007. The study includes results from 53,000 students from 14 countries and 16 different school systems (Belgium is divided into the Flemish, French and German Community). The results refer to the categorization of language levels from A1 basic user to C2 proficient user according to the *CEFR-Common European Framework of Reference*. In contrast to earlier investigations on language competences, this is the first study that did not rely on self-evaluation but that is based on educational survey standards like PISA and TIMSS.

Proficient User	C2	Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.
	C1	Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
Independent User	B2	Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options.
	B1	Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics, which are familiar, or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.
Basic User	A2	Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspects of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.
	A1	Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.

Chart: CEFR

Generally speaking most students achieve levels A1 (28%) and B2 (23%) in their first additional language (FEUSLC-Executive Summary 2012: 4). This could resemble the different school levels which were tested in this survey, that is the last year of lower secondary (~ age 14) and the second year of upper secondary (~ 16). To illustrate the progress in language learning according to the CEFR levels the example of the Austrian school system could serve as an indicator. In Austria students in the first years of lower secondary should reach A1 and at the end A2. Subsequently in the first years of upper secondary their language competence will be labelled B1 and at the end of their school career B2. The big difference between students who only reach A1 in the tested schools and those with B2 indicates a high divergence between school systems in Europe. This could be explained with varying years of language learning, differences in teacher training or in school

systems. It also needs to be taken into consideration that the results in different states vary to a high degree. While 28% of the pupils in Malta have level B1, only 14% in France and 9% in England reach the same results (ibid. 6). It is worth noting that English is taught as first AL in all participating countries, except the UK for obvious reasons.

In contrast to the great difference in results for the first additional language, the result for the second AL are mostly situated in the beginners' area of the CEFR with students only reaching levels PreA1 (20%) and A1 (38%). Generally speaking the survey found out that positive factors in language learning are an early start in language learning, the students' perception of their parents' language knowledge, higher exposure to language through traditional and new media and the perception of usefulness of a language (ibid. 10).

In conclusion it is stated that language competences need to be improved and cooperation between institutions could help achieve this goal. Moreover the writers of this study also address the importance of language policies and how these policies should exert influence on language behaviour and competence. Accordingly European LPP should promote the usefulness of language learning, increase learning opportunities outside the school through for example the media (e.g. subtitles) and encourage people that they are capable of learning languages. Moreover indicators such as the age factor as well as the opportunity of students to use the languages learnt in a meaningful way in the classroom should be strengthened. And while it is pointed out that linguistic diversity needs to be promoted an important proposal is made for English:

> The importance of the English language as a basic skill and as a tool for employability and professional development requires concrete actions to further improve competences in this language. (FEUSLC-Executive Summary 2012: 12)

2.4.3. Languages in Europe Towards 2020 (published in 2010)

This publication sums up the main findings, conclusions and recommendations of a one year project called "Languages in Europe, Theory, Policy and Practice", short LETPP, funded by the European Union. During this project several formal meetings, conferences and lectures were held but in addition to that informal meetings and surveys on the internet led to a broader network. Especially the mix of people from various areas concerned with multilingualism in the EU allowed for a broader discussion of the topic. Hence not only language experts, researchers, teachers, politicians and representatives were part of the project but also journalists, experts from the business world and students.

Besides the meetings, discussions, seminars and conferences an important part of the project is a study conducted in 2009 amongst students at the University of Sofia. Interviews are analyzed in the final document and students' perceptions of multilingualism and the linguistic situation in the EU are illustrated. The detailed results of the qualitative study cannot be found online hence the following chapter will summarize the main points described in the conclusion and recommendation paper published in 2010.

The students interviewed at the University of Sofia have a high level of competence in English and are increasingly better in Spanish, Russian and German while the level of competence is decreasing in French. A lot of these students state that their motivation to learn foreign languages is mainly linked to employment and better education (LiET2020 2010: 31). Moreover they think that multilingual competence will support their mobility and it is furthermore noted that the "territory on which they conceive their lives has widened immensely" (ibid). In other words, these young students see their future not strictly bound to their home country but they imagine their life or at least periods in their life in other regions and countries. And a necessary tool for higher mobility is language competence.

Interestingly the students do not regard the dominance of English as problematic and the writers of the paper go so far as to questioning the importance of this issue in the 2010s (LiET2020 2010: 32). The studies discussed above published in 2012

indicate that although the dominance of English is still regarded problematic by politicians and some linguists, the reality points towards an increasing prominence and importance of English.

Other factors, which are mentioned by the students in connection with multilingualism in the EU, are better mutual understanding and the role of identity. Students see themselves as part of a new world in which mutual understanding is necessary to overcome differences. Moreover they think that multiple identities are a positive effect of multilingualism and languages contribute positively to their sense of self (ibid.).

Due to the outcomes of the interviews and discussions in the course of the project the writers claim:

> We could therefore conclude that there is a need to stop regarding English as a problem. We could instead welcome the emergence of an effective lingua franca […]. This is fast becoming a self-chosen reality among young upwardly mobile people internationally (and that incidentally is where UK monolinguals become the poor cousins of the rest of the educated world). The question then is not "what should we do about English", but what are the implications of this […] dominant role? How do we encourage real multi/plurilingualism (and how can the ubiquitousness of English assist this process)? What, indeed, does it mean for our present and future identities? (ibid.: 34)

At the end of the paper two concepts developed as adoptions of the EU concept of multilingualism are discussed (ibid.: 35). In 2008 it was highly debated that one language should be learned as a language of *international communication* and a second additional language could be a *personal adoptive language* (cf. Proposals from the Group of Intellectuals for Intercultural Dialogue http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/report_en.pdf, 7 March 2013). The latter is chosen for personal reasons such as interest, family traditions or the like but it is not the language of identity or international communication (ibid. 10). Moreover it is considered to be similar to a mother tongue: "learned intensively, spoken and written fluently […]" (ibid.). This interpretation of the *mother-tongue + 2* policy, the learning of one additional language of international communication and one as a personal adoptive language, also resembles the students' responses in

the report (LiET 2020: 35). The authors note that this model has not been further investigated on since 2008.

In addition to that it is suggested in the report that a new model of Plurilingualism (also described by the Council of Europe in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages)* should be considered, which acknowledges a range of diverse linguistic capabilities. These capabilities could range from mother-tongue to learned languages as well as only particles of an acquisition of a language.

> […] he or she […] builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. (CEFR 2001: 4)

This would have further effects on formal education systems in so far as non-traditional spaces of language learning and acquiring need to be taken into consideration, according to the authors of *Languages in Europe Towards 2020*. In their analysis based on seminars and comments by David Crystal they point to the power of the internet in this matter.

2.4.4. Overall Linguistic Trends in the EU

Taking all three surveys and analysis into consideration five general trends become visible in the linguistic landscape of the EU.

- Half of the Europeans speak at least one additional language well enough to have a conversation and one quarter knows at least two AL well enough. In contrast to this, still 46% of Europeans do not no any AL well enough. In general younger people age 15-24 are most likely to speak additional languages (74%). Tested pupils reach mostly levels A1 and B2 in their first AL, but their language competences in their second AL are only around A1 or less.

- English is the most widely spoken additional language with an average 38% of the Europeans being able to have a conversation in English. It has furthermore been explained in earlier that English is the common European language for 100% of the EU27 member states. Moreover the language competences are highest in English as was confirmed in all three studies, two of which asked for a self-evaluation and one testing actual language competences on the base of the CEFR standards.

- While AL are most often used in the private domain according to the first study, advantages and motivation to learn an AL are linked to the professional domain. Additionally it should be mentioned that while 45% use their first AL and 42% their second AL on holidays, the difference for the domain of work is more striking. 25% use their first AL at work but only 16% use their second AL at work. These results indicate that the concept of learning a language for international communication plus a personal adoptive language needs to be reconsidered as it could already be reality in the EU. Also the university students' answers correspond with this concept as they state their main motivation to learn languages are situated in the professional domain while at the same time they furthermore describe mutual understanding as an important factor. This again is in the first study mostly important for people from the "old" EU15.

- When it comes to the situation of a lingua franca in Europe, 69% think that everyone in the EU should speak one common language and the interviewed students have no problems with English being the language of international communication. At the same time 72% of the Europeans agree that it is important to learn more than one AL and the interviewed students underline the importance of multilingual competence in a world shaped by increasing mobility.

- Lastly it is necessary to mention the growing importance of the internet. It is not only described and analyzed by David Crystal in the third study but also visible in the increasing use of the first AL on the internet with 34% of Europeans using their first AL in 2012 in contrast to 24% in 2005. Moreover the internet is mostly used by Europeans at age of 15-24 (50%) and only used by 19% of the Europeans aged 55 and older. The increasing use supports David Crystal's proposal of a more efficient use of the internet for teaching languages (LiET2020 2010: 39).

3. Language Ideology and Attitudes in the EU

In the previous chapter the linguistic situation in the EU today was discussed as well as European wide LPP. In order to understand the reasons and beliefs behind these LPP as well as language attitudes in Europe it is necessary to have a closer look at the linguistic development in the states of the EU. Therefore this chapter will examine European history and the role of languages in the formation of states. Furthermore it is necessary to discuss the growing importance of English in a globalized world and how this affects European LPP. Finally a discussion of various linguists' viewpoints on European LPP should explain different positions in linguistic research on this topic. Together these three elements will illustrate existing language ideologies and attitudes in the European Union.

3.1. One Nation – One Language – One Identity. European History and Language

Today's linguistic situation in the EU is diverse, multilingual and shaped by migration as well as a long and eventful history. Numerous wars and treaties shaped the states of the EU. Monarchies, dictatorships and democracies had an influence on people's lives and their understanding of nation and nationality. And language, although it is an important part of every state and its residents' identity, only started to be part of policies in the European states during the Renaissance and Reformation. The following pages will analyze different stages in Europe's linguistic history with the main focus on two of the most powerful and influential states in the EU, namely France and Germany.

According to Kremnitz (1994: 45), in the Middle Ages a common national language or the standardization of a vernacular was not necessary as state organization was limited and common people were not part of the political organization. Whenever there was a need for communication between different linguistic communities Latin was used as the lingua franca. It did not only have a long history but it was also a positively and prestigiously connoted language. Written texts were produced by the cleric in the Middle Ages, for whom Latin had a long tradition. Generally speaking the main reasons for the lack of LPP in this period were the lack of state

organization and bureaucracy, the low participation of common people in political matters as well as the dominance of Latin in written texts and as lingua franca.

This situation changed in the 15ᵗʰ century with the emergence and spread of a highly influential medium, the book, together with one of the most important revolutions in the European history, the reformation. In 1455 (Kremnitz 1994: 46) the first bible was printed with movable letters. Gutenberg's invention of printing mechanically with movable types laid the foundation for the commercial spread of books. Printing became cheaper and quicker and access to the written word was easier. This economic way of spreading the written word, together with the new religious movement emerging in the early 16ᵗʰ century with Martin Luther, were reasons for the wish of common people to learn to read.

The media revolution initialized by Gutenberg's invention of the mechanical print with movable types influenced the spread of the written word, the education, alphabetization and emancipation of citizens as well as the standardization of national languages. The increasing availability of books did not only mean that more people needed to learn to read but it was also necessary to standardize language. As printers were interested in an economic solution to the challenge the linguistic diversity in the states they most commonly chose one language (the language of the centre) to publish their books in and they did not translate texts into all vernaculars spoken in a state (Wright 2004: 28). According to Wright, printers were the first to promote a standardized language.

Clearly, Gutenberg's invention of the movable types as well as the spread of the religious movement, that led to several separations of Christian churches were the basis on which language standardization was possible. The Reformation did not only change Christianity and religious beliefs but it also diminished the power of Latin as a religious lingua franca. Moreover, both events supported a shift in the structure of the population from being subjects to citizens who were able to understand the written word, including revolutionary ideas in religious areas. Martin Luther was the first to translate the bible into a language people in his region were able to understand. For the first time they actually understood religious texts and were allowed to interpret these texts themselves. The reading of

biblical texts was not limited any more to the educated cleric but for the first time common people were given the power to understand these texts. Due to Martin Luther's translation together with the flourishing book printing market a wide and rapid spread of his ideas through German was possible.

But other than this religious emancipation Europe's states were mostly under absolutist monarchs' rule. In contrast to the Middle Ages, this era developed highly organized states and an growing bureaucracy called for a common language known to a wide range of people. Therefore administration can also be considered an influential factor in the expanding linguistic unification. Although the link between languages and the state was not yet as close as in later decades, language knowledge was a crucial factor for social status. Speaking the language of the monarchy allowed citizens to work for the state and it favored upward social mobility and prosperity. The first LPP were the consequence of the changed political, societal and religious situation in 15th and 16th century Europe.

Both Wright (2004: 30) and Kremnitz (1994: 48) mention the Edict of Villers-Cottenêts in 1539 as one of the most important interventions in a state's linguistic situation. This edict prescribed the exclusive use of French in all official documents (legal and administrative) in France. Although it led to decades of discussions about the exact definition of the term "French", it is one of the first examples in which a state intervened in the status of a language: a former vernacular language was given the status of official national language. Kremnitz points out that in most modern European monarchies such as France, Spain and England the national languages were the languages of the court, the centre of the monarchies, but in Italy this was not possible asItaly was not united and there was no national centre. In the case of Italy the centre of arts and literature, namely Florence, was the birthplace of *italiano standard* and so not the Roman but the Florentine dialect became the national standard language.

As a consequence of the emergence of national standard languages in Europe, language ideologies were prominent. While some languages were prestigious and facilitated social mobility, others did not support social upward mobility or economic prosperity. Therefore the birth of national languages also supported and

created attitudes towards languages and vernaculars. Moreover language ideologies described a contrast between the national language facilitating prosperity and dialects and vernaculars representing the local traditions and history.

The next important phase for languages in Europe started in the 18th century with the French Revolution. The storm of the Bastille in 1789 marked the end of the absolute monarchy in France. The French Revolution was influenced by the ideas of Enlighnment, Voltaire, Locke, Rousseau's definition of *volonté générale* (the subordination of the individual's will under the common will), Montesquieus' separation of powers and Kant's *kategorischer Imperativ*. The new French state-nation was founded on the symbolic values of *Liberté – Égalité – Fraternité* and people were considered citizens with more rights than ever before. After the French Revolution the state was confronted with a nation combined of diverse linguistic communities. In order to unify the country and spread the revolutionary ideas and the ideologies of the new state-nation a common language was necessary and so the spread of French was enforced. As a consequence of the foundation of a state based on the consent of the people, alphabetization and education were improved. Wright (2004: 31) emphasizes the need for teaching the national language by describing a census conducted in 1790. It revealed that only 3 million people in France were able to speak French, 3 million had some competence and 25 million French citizens were not capable of speaking and understanding French. One symbol of the new French national identity was French together with other signs of identification with the state such as the flag and the national anthem. As it was seen as the duty of every citizen to take part in the democracy it was also their duty to speak the national language. For the first time language was equated with national identity and furthermore to the state-nation and the ideological principles it is based on. As a consequence, Kremnitz (1994: 49) argues, a questioning of the national linguistic model was seen as a threat to the political system and the state itself.

At the same time in Germany a different philosophy spread. Herder (1744-1803) developed the idea of *ethnic nationalism* (Wright 2004: 32). According to this stream of thought people of one nationality are destined to live together in a

political system, a state. Their identity is based on a common history, culture and language and one is born into this nationality. A national language was again a sign of identification with the state. Although in reality a linguistically homogeneous state never existed in Europe, the German nation was built on its principles. It was not easy to find a common past for the case of Germany but in the end commonality was found in the era of Teutonic tribes. The borders of the German nation were not built arbitrarily including different linguistic communities like in France, but the Germanic common history was a pre-requisite for provinces to be part of the new nation-state. Hence only regions with German tradition (history, culture, language) were regarded part of the German nation. In theory, German did not have to be learnt by the citizens but everybody's first language was German. But language alone was not a reason to include German speaking areas such as the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, according to Wright (2004: 34). Here political issues were considered more important. Interestingly it was not necessary to spread a national language in such a way as it was done in France despite the fact that there was a distinct Germanic dialect continuum. Due to the developments in the print business and the protestant religious revolution a national standard language, Hochdeutsch, had already spread over the previous decades. Hence the German dialect continuum was unified via the standard language in books which had been standardized through writers and linguists.

In conclusion it can be observed that both Wright and Kremnitz differentiate between the importance of language in state-nation and nation-state building. While the first political construct has to create a common language and uses status planning in order to elevate one vernacular to the national language, the philosophy behind the nation-state assumes an already existing common language. State-nations combining diverse linguistic and cultural communities in one polity impose one national standard language. In the French example it is the citizen's duty, Wright calls it patriotic duty (2004: 31), to learn the national language. The nation-state on the other hand is based on Herder's ideology of ethnic nationalism. According to this philosophy distinct homogeneous nationalities exist and a common national language does not have to be imposed but every citizen is already capable of using it. But as both Wright and Kremnitz note, this nation-state construct only exists theoretically and in Europe states have always consisted of

different linguistic groups, even in examples often used to prove the contrary such as Iceland and Portugal (Kremnitz 1994: 50). Despite the differences between state-nations and nation-states both political constructs use language as a symbol of national identification and unification. In both systems the equation of state and language does not only support national identity but it also underlines the difference to other states. Furthermore speakers of the national language are likely to have a higher status and so discrimination on the basis of language is the consequence. In both cases it is a patriotic act to speak and understand the language and it underlines the uniqueness of a state.

After World War I state borders were more fixed and national identity was more pronounced than ever. Migration decreased in this period and nationalism rose. According to Wright (2004: 34), linguistic unity played a crucial role in the developments during this period and it was this feeling of national identity and unity that allowed states to mobilize a whole nation for the benefits of the state during both World Wars. The events of World War II in Germany show how far the invented and theoretical idea of ethnic nationalism was taken, with horrific and unimaginable results.

But also after the two World Wars languages still played an important role in national identity formation, as can be seen in various European examples. In France until today new words in the field of IT are translated into French and so instead of using the English word "computer", which is for example also used in German and Italian, French call it "ordinateur" (other examples: "logiciel" for "software", "texto" for "SMS/text message"). Moreover the "Loi Toubon" law prescribes the translation of English texts into French for the description of services, goods and products (http://www.senat.fr/questions/base/2011/qSEQ111221558.html, 30 March 2013). It is for example visible in TV commercials with English slogans which have to be translated and thus have subtitles. Moreover every company, be it a French one or an international one based in France, needs to provide translations for English internal communication, even if the company's working language is English. And probably more widely known is the *Académie Francaise*, a group in charge of the preservation of the French language.

In Italy, a state unified in 1861, a national standard Italian language only started to prevail with the emergence of television in every household in the 1960s. The Italian state-nation struggled with its unification, and language was one vehicle to promote a united Italian national identity. But until today strong dialectical differences divide the country and reinforce the differences between North and South. In this example it is not so much the struggle with other, foreign languages infiltrating the national language that is seen as a threat to Italian nationality, but it is the partially failed attempt to unify Italy economically, culturally and linguistically that challenges Italian national identity formation.

In Austria the first dictionary of Austrian German was published in 1952 (http://oe1.orf.at/artikel/308712, 29 March 2013). After the *Anschluss* to Germany and the events of World War II, the description of a distinct Austrian German variety could be interpreted as support for the ideological separation from Germany, and the common past. In other words, the definition of Austrian German was one piece in the creation of an Austrian national identity, distinctively different from Germany. Two decades after this a new music wave conquered Austria: *Austropop*. Austrian artists started to combine colloquial language (sometimes dialect) with the sound of American/English pop music. National artists such as Marianne Mendt, Wolfgang Ambros, Georg Danzer and later Rainhard Fendrich influenced a whole generation and until today their hits are played on national radio stations. Around the same time in Germany the *Neue Deutsche Welle* introduced German punk music. Also in this music genre national artists adapted the music originally from the UK and USA for their own, local interests and experience. A similar increase in (pop) music with German and sometimes Austrian dialect lyrics can be observed nowadays, similar to French hiphop and Italian rap. Trends deriving from American (UK) popular culture are adapted to national, local experiences and combine global musical trends with local stories and language. These examples illustrate that still until today national languages are a sign of national identity. Johnstone notes that:

> Shifting from supra-regional forms to performances of local sounding forms can index both a nostalgic sense of belonging and a youthful sense of urban hipness. (Johnstone 2010: 26)

To sum up, different phases in European history have led to diverse interpretations and meanings of national languages. While in the Middle Ages language was not part of any policy and therefore not as closely linked to states and nationality, the Renaissance marked the turning point for the significance of languages in Europe.

The intentional use of a national language to promote national identity and unity created European states that define their identity amongst other aspects through a common language and a linguistic homogenous national community. Still today languages are used to express national identity as can be seen in the examples of popular music in German, French and Italian. Here international trends are adapted to national needs in order to express a nation specific experience trough the national language in pop-, rap- and hip-hop music. The publication of an Austrian German dictionary as well the preservation of the purity of French through the Académie Francaise are clear indicators of the still existing dominance and importance of national languages for states in the European Union.

And what can we learn from these historical insights? What does history and experience teach us for new linguistic challenges in the EU? What is the symbolic and ideological meaning of languages in the EU? How can we benefit from historical research in this field to understand national ideologies that influence EU LPP?

Taking the historical development of national languages in Europe into consideration it is understandable that the EU, built on the principles of equality, treats all national languages equally and promotes multilingualism. It is of individual national interest to guarantee equal rights for the nation's own language to ensure national identity and loyalty to the state. As a consequence millions are spent for translations and the symbolic equality of all languages of the EU. Moreover EU LPP aims at enforcing the teaching and learning of two additional foreign languages, emphasizing repeatedly that "English alone is not enough" (cf. Chapter 2).

Over the last 500 years national languages have been connoted with social upward mobility and emancipation, unification of heterogeneous groups and national

identity. Languages allowed the individual to gain access to knowledge. As a consequence of this, languages also paved the way for the social advancement for common people. Languages supported states in national unification and the creation of a cohesive community. They were the promoters of a national identity together with other national symbols that differentiated one state from the other. And LPP used languages (or more precisely one common national language) to promote exactly these three aspects: emancipation that leads to prosperity, national unification and national identity.

Modern linguistic trends, developed in the era of globalization, show that languages enable people all over the world to be part of a global community. But despite the already existing dominance of English on a global scale, national languages still play an important role in people's mindsets. And so trends for example in popular music culture are accepted but at the same time they are adapted. This adaptation very often happens through national languages, the adaptation of English or the mix of different languages. In these cases language itself is part of the message of the music. And so a hip-hop song in Austrian dialect can be interpreted as a countermovement to German (Hochdeutsch) hip-hop. This in turn is an adaptation of the music trend deriving from the US. In this example it becomes visible that people are aware of the traditional patterns of national languages representing national identity. They make use of these patterns in order to send a message via their language use. Through the conscious decision to use one language over another people intentionally create their own identity and become part of a community. They choose when they want to be part of which community or they can even show that they are part of both, the English and the German or Austrian, communities when they use and transform both languages. It is this conscious decision-making process that shows how flexible identity formation is in our globalized world and how languages are actively chosen by people. Comparing this with the results of all three European linguistic studies and EU LPP discussed in Chapter 2, it becomes evident that despite all LPP people still choose the languages they want to speak. They choose it for advantages on the labor market and to be part of the global community. And for a strong majority of Europeans this language is English.

How can the EU use the symbolic and ideological values of languages to its advantage? As can be seen in the European motto "unity in diversity", on the one hand the EU should develop unification while on the other hand (national) diversity needs to be safeguarded and member states' sovereignty guaranteed. As mentioned above, the questioning of a national language has often been understood as questioning the political system. So the EU tries not to favor any European language over another in their LLP and only rarely does it distinguish between European languages that might be more useful than others. But despite the efforts to treat all languages equally it is also mentioned that especially "European world languages" (COM (2008) 566: 8 & 14) will render the European economy more competitive. At the same time some minor promotion of minority languages should guarantee equal linguistic rights and linguistic diversity. Moreover, European multilingualism is aimed at facilitating intercultural dialogue, mutual understanding and social cohesion. The question remains how in all these areas, a competitive economy, equal linguistic rights/linguistic diversity, mutual/intercultural understanding as well as a socially cohesive EU should be achieved with one LPP, namely *mother-tongue + 2* that in turn leads to *multilingualism.*

A competitive economy should be oriented towards the demands of the global market. These demands are flexibility, mobility and language competences especially in English. Although it can be helpful to have some language knowledge in Chinese, Arabic, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese, the English language competences in most countries are increasing and LPP is aiming at English language education.

In conversations with colleagues during several internships at Siemens VAI in Austria and the UK, it was confirmed to me that the language competences in English of the employees worldwide in the sector Siemens VAI operates in are more than sufficient for negotiations. Knowledge of cultural customs helps to avoid misunderstandings. I was told that it was difficult for employees to understand differences in gestures. It is for example important to understand that what seems to be a disapproving nodding for an Austrian (shaking the head from one side to the other) in India can stand for approval. Once the employee was aware of this

cultural difference main misunderstandings could be prevented. English serves perfectly as a lingua franca to overcome these misunderstandings. When contracts are finalized, only in a few cases translators are necessary. In Russia for example contracts are only valid in Russian and therefore contracts are concluded in two languages, usually in Russian and English (or German).

In order to create a more competitive European economy it seems therefore necessary to support English language learning so that employees of European companies can easily communicate on a global level. An actual advantage the EU has in contrast to other global players is not so much its linguistic diversity but its intellectual capital. If the EU were able to increase cooperation and the exchange of knowledge inside the EU across state borders, this might give a competitive edge to the European economy. And here again a common lingua franca will facilitate cooperation on a European level. Hence English language teaching is not only important for international business relations but it can also facilitate cooperation between European states. As will be shown in a later chapter, the concept of English as a Lingua Franca serves the communicative needs of such heterogeneous groups.

The second area in which multilingualism should improve the present situation is the preservation of linguistic diversity and the protection of linguistic rights. In this case it might be useful to actually name and promote specific languages that are endangered in the EU. Although all languages should be treated equally, languages that are endangered and linguistic communities that are discriminated against need to be named in order to raise awareness of the problem. In order to teach mutual respect, European citizens need to be informed of existing inequalities. It might also be useful to promote specific minority language teaching exactly in those countries where these minority languages are present. The reduction of prejudices on the basis of languages needs to be a high priority in European LPP. Thus in this case, if it is actually the goal to protect minorities and minority languages, it is necessary to treat these minority languages not equally to other ("big") European languages. They need to be treated differently and it is necessary to name them. Once and for all it needs to be made clear that bilingualism is present in every country in the world (Romaine 2006: 388). Hence also European

states are not monolingual and national languages are only one part of the citizens' linguistic repertoire. Emphasizing the importance of "European world languages" discriminates against other European languages and minority languages, and so EU LPP is exactly promoting what it tries to prevent. Although EU LPP has so far been ineffective in changing the power and status of English (cf. Chapter 2), EU LPP might be efficient in the promotion of linguistic equality and mutual respect. Local initiatives could be a start to work against inequalities.

The third EU LPP goal is social cohesion and mutual (cultural) understanding (cf. Chapter 2). It seems only logical that both, a cohesive European society and the understanding of people with different cultural backgrounds, call for a common language. Unification and national identity formation in European states from a historical perspective was based on the creation of symbols of unity. One of these symbols was a common language; a language that guaranteed prosperity and cooperation in the state. In Europe this actual, common language, one language that is taught in all European countries, is English. English as a common lingua franca is used not only in the economy and science but due to a growing mobility in the EU (projects that support this mobility are, for example, Erasmus, Comenius and Sokrates) ELF is increasingly used in the private domain. Due to the students' mobility program Erasmus friends are made all over Europe and ELF is the common denominator. Other cultures are discovered through ELF and intercultural dialogue is possible because of ELF. As will be discussed in a later chapter, identity can be displayed through ELF as well as cultural differences. But while the importance of English is increasing in every domain, still almost half of the Europeans are not able to communicate in any additional foreign language according to *Europeans and Their Languages* (2012: 14). Moreover the language competence results for English show that there is a strong imbalance in the tested countries. While some tested students achieved B2 there is also a high percentage of students who only reached level A1 (cf. Chapter 2). To guarantee equal opportunities for every European citizen and social cohesion it is thus crucial to improve language competences and language teaching for English as it is a prerequisite on the labor market and it facilitates mutual understanding in Europe. Especially today, in an EU that has been hit hard by the economic crises, European cohesion needs to be promoted and national prejudices reduced. A culturally

neutral lingua franca can support this, and it seems that there is no other option than English.

3.2. English Spread – English Dominance. Evil Villain or Superhero?

1536. The Act of Union sets the starting point for the global spread of a language that manifests itself in as many versions as no other lingua franca before such as Latin or French. English, which became the official language of law and government in Britain in 1536, today is an important national language (ENL), a second language (ESL) and a foreign language (EFL). But as we will see later, it can take on even more roles and the definition of English(es) in different contexts, countries and situations is a complex field of research. Linguists refer to it as 'international language', 'lingua franca', 'global language', 'world language' and 'world English' (Seidlhofer 2003: 9). The great variety of its definitions and names does not only reflect the worldwide spread of English, but it also shows the diverse adaptations and appropriations of one single language. Besides the issue of terminology and definition another highly debated topic in linguistics is the spread of the language. It is discussed whether English was spread via intentional LPP top-down and through patterns similar to imperialism or whether the users intentionally choose and acquire English for economic reasons, social mobility or even cultural and religious motives (Pennycook 2011). In addition to that there is an ongoing debate in linguistic research in how far English influences, changes and "kills" other languages or, on the contrary, how non-native speakers change and adapt English to their own needs.

The intention of this chapter is to describe the various explanations for the spread of English and the different and opposing positions on the power and dominance of this global linguistic phenomenon. It is by far not a complete summary of all contributions to the debate but intended to highlight some opposing positions on the topic in order to exemplify the full spectrum of opinions in the discussion.

3.2.1 How English spread

Wright (2004), in her book on LPP and the development of English over the centuries, notes that the spread of English as a language of contact only started some time after the beginnings of colonization. Gradually, it became the official language in some colonies and its importance rose without becoming an official language in other colonies. But according to Wright (2004: 136) in the first decades of colonization Dutch and Spanish were used predominantly in the colonies. Moreover the influence of the English language in Europe was only marginally visible in some domains while the main elite language of contact remained French.

In the 18th century the first wave of English-language spread in the colonies started with the growing migration from Britain to the colonies. The *first dispora* (cf. for example Kachru 1992), the migration to North America, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, led to the formation of L1 varieties of English. The new rulers and elite influenced cultural and social structures as well as the languages indigenous people spoke. Hence in this period English became the dominant language of the rulers in the above mentioned countries and led to a disappearance of indigenous languages. According to Wright (2004: 137), as a consequence of these developments a similar increase in the spread of English was expected for other colonies but it became not reality.

The *second diaspora* (cf. Kachru 1992) describes the spread of English to colonies in Africa and Asia, where L2 varieties of English emerged. English in Africa and Asia was only used by a small group of people in contact with the British and the language did not spread over all classes. A similar observation can be found in Brutt-Griffler's account of 'World English' (2002: 107) where she notes that English exists alongside other languages in Africa and Asia while in Britain, the USA and Australia English replaced indigenous languages (with some partial exceptions such as Ireland). Another important observation in Brutt-Griffler's work on World English is the importance and power of people "as agents in the process of creation of World English" (ibid.). It is thus, according to her, misleading to limit the spread of English to imperialism but the active role of its users needs to be taken into account. In other words, English was not simply forced upon people but they were,

and still are, actively involved in the acquisition and appropriation of English in their local contexts. Brutt-Griffler (2002: 112) goes on to present imperialism not only as a precondition under which the spread of English was possible, but notes that its use was in the beginning restricted to the elite. Therefore imperialism alone cannot explain the spread of English over different social classes. And quoting Mazrui & Mazrui (1998) she adds that English was also used as a vehicle against the dominance of colonial supremacy. Thus on the one hand imperialism paved the way for the global spread of English, but as it was only restricted to the elite in the beginning and also used against the imperialistic system by its opponents, imperialism is not the ultimate explanation for the English language spread.

In the 19th century alongside the developments during the industrial revolution English became the language of trade and science. Moreover the British parliamentary democracy, the first in Europe, set an example for other states and political philosophers, so English also penetrated the language of politics in Europe. This can be observed in English loanwords in French writings such as *club*, *vote* and *opposition* (Wright 2004: 138-140). The British technical and economic edge in the 19th century as well as a revolutionary political system guaranteed the British a dominating position in Europe and worldwide which led to the penetration of English in the scientific, economic and political domain. Whereas Wright describes this influence in diverse domains already in the 19th century, Brutt-Griffler (2002: 110) claims that it was only after the climax of imperialism, in the early 20th century, that the use and dominance of English for economic and cultural reasons rose. She refers to this phenomenon as the "econocultural features of world language" (ibid.: 110).

After WW II, Britain lost its dominance as political and economic power whereas the influence of the US rose. While the US intervened only marginally in European political and economic affairs after WW I, the dominance of the victors of WWII increased in the post-war period. Political initiatives such as the Marshall Plan were brought into being and supported countries, which suffered from substantial damages after the war, and helped to reconstruct cities and the economic infrastructure. In addition to this support it is also important to note that US

foreign trade rose in this phase and decreased again afterwards (Wright 2004: 144). This is interesting because it shows that US foreign trade was only influential in Europe in the time immediately after war and thus the spread of the American influence was only partially shaped by world trade. As Wright notes (ibid.), besides world trade, the domination of the capitalist ideology in important organizations is a crucial factor in the spread of English.

After the two World Wars and with the defeat of Communism in Western Europe, the new neo-liberal, capitalist ideology of the USA has been dominating the Western world. International economic organizations such as the WTO, WB, OECD and G8 are based on US ideologies (ibid.). Moreover rating agencies are located in the USA and can exert enormous influence on the fate of countries and even on whole state unions visible in the example of the influence of Moody's on the EU in the last years.

The process of globalization, according to Pennycook (2011: 513), is a process which includes economic, technological and cultural aspects. Therefore the US dominance and influence cannot only be observed in the economy but also in other fields including science and culture. In other words, the spread of English in the 20th century is not only a result of economic and political factors but it is also supported by new developments of new means of communication. The power of these new ways of communication is impressively illustrated in the picture below representing the users' connections worldwide via Facebook. This picture demonstrates that via social media platforms people around the world are connected with each other. The more connections there are in an area the lighter the area is. Therefore it can be observed that there is a dense network of connections within the continents, that is the continents where facebook is allowed and used, but also across continents. This has important implications for language use on social media sites such as facebook.

Social media brings people from different continents and countries closer together and calls for new forms of communication. In order to communicate across national boundaries it is in most cases necessary to use a lingua franca, which is often English. Hence English as a Lingua Franca is not only a necessary prerequisite for globalization in the economy but it becomes increasingly important also in the private domain on social media sites.

Other examples of the influence of English in the private domain are cultural products from the US influencing language use. Hollywood productions, US TV shows and rap-, hip-pop and pop music dominate the worldwide market. In Austria an emerging trend among the young generation can be observed as more people start watching TV shows online, in English, in order to be up-to date.

While the above mentioned examples of social media as well as cultural products are partially based on the use of English, other worldwide short-term trends emerge which show the interconnectedness of a global community. Through social media people worldwide take part in trends of the new global community, adapt it to their local context and share it with people, "friends", who are part of this community. Although the following trends are not necessarily based on the use of English, the idea behind the trends is spread globally through English until they are

adapted on a local level. The "planking" wave (http://www.planking.me/ 3 April 2013) for example led people to take pictures of themselves lying on any kind of surface face-down. As the terminology of this trend already indicates, "planking" originated in the USA. Through the medium internet pictures were shared on social media platforms and due to the global connections on these platforms the trend was taken up by people around the world. The newest trend in 2013 is the "Harlem Shake Song" and all its variations. And again this trend originated in the US and spread through social media platforms worldwide. Another example that emerged in the last years is "Movemeber", a fundraising initiative originating in Australia (http://www.movember.com/ 3 April 2013). As a result of this initiative (young) men in various countries all over the world grow mustaches and beards in November to raise awareness for prostate cancer. Most of these trends disappear after a very short period of time; others for example in the music industry remain longer. What they all have in common is a rapid global spread and their influence in different countries and cultures. As already illustrated in the previous chapter with the example of music trends adapted to local interests and transformed in content and language, these trends from the centre (in Pennycook's words 2011: 518) do not only influence the periphery but the periphery changes and adapts the emerging phenomena. According to Pennycook this process can therefore not be considered a one-way influence but it is an "active construction of different possible worlds and identities" (ibid.). In a later chapter of this thesis the theoretical concept of identity formation in a global context, Eckert's (1992) communities of practice and Anderson's (1991) definition of a nation as imagined community will further evaluate these global cultural phenomena. The examples "planking", "Harlem Shake" and "Movember" are intended to show the importance of global trends, mostly emerging from English-speaking countries, for a global (youth) culture. The role of identity formation through these trends as well as the appropriation of English will be discussed later.

3.2.2. Terminology: which and whose English?

The importance, power and influence of English in a globalized world has been illustrated with some examples. As a next step it is necessary to further examine different definitions of today's various Englishes. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there is a variety of terms used for different Englishes. Widely used in the academia is Kachru's (1992) model of concentric circles. He defined three groups of users of English: the *Inner Circle* denotes native speakers of English in the UK, USA, Australia, and so forth. In other words, the Inner Circle represents English as a Native Language (ENL). Encircling the smallest part, the *Outer Circle* includes postcolonial countries such as India, Malaysia, Singapore and others, where English is used as additional language and is appropriated locally. In these countries distinct varieties of English have developed, e.g. Indian English. The third part of Kachru's model is the *Expanding Circle,* encompassing all countries where English is considered a foreign language. Twenty years old, Kachru's model is still used as a convenient means of referring to these three contexts, but it has also been criticized for its focus on nations (Bruthiaux 2003) while ignoring social differences (Holborow 1999).

A description of an adaptation of Kachru's model can be found for example in Seidlhofer's *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca* (2011). According to her the cover term EIL describes communication in all three circles. She distinguishes between localized and globalized EIL (ibid: 3-4). Localized EIL refers to the Outer Circle, those countries that developed a localized form of English such as Indian English and Nigerian English. Globalized EIL describes English use across Kachru's concentric circles and its adaptation to specific communicative situations between native-speakers and non-native speakers as well as exclusively between non-native speakers. As Kachru's model is based on a distinction between Englishes in different nations, the global use of English between people of all three circles does not fit into the model. The term globalized English describes this phenomenon more clearly. On the bases of this terminology Seidlhofer goes on to define ELF, English as a Lingua Franca (ibid. 7). A detailed definition of ELF, which is important for European language use and LPP, will follow in the next chapter.

3.2.3. Linguistic Controversies on the Spread of English and its Profiteers

While new definitions of the various forms of English and their meaning in different contexts are constantly developed, two highly debated questions remain unsolved: How did English become so dominant worldwide and who are the profiteers of the spread? According to Phillipson (e.g. 1992, 2000) *linguistic imperialism* describes the intentional spread and promotion of English by institutions and governments. It furthermore implies the inequalities that the dominance of English creates as there is a group of people capable of using the language, native speakers and elite, and an excluded group which does not have equal opportunities due to the position of English. Moreover Phillipson argues that globalization has led to a homogenization of cultures (2000: 90). He argues that US companies, which use English as their corporate language, create a common global culture through their products and advertisement because they use English and the English culture to promote their products. In addition to the social inequalities and a homogenization of cultures the spread through deliberate LPP of English threatens linguistic diversity, minority and indigenous languages.

Pennycook (2011) agrees with most assumptions of Philipson's linguistic imperialsm, but adapts one part, which according to him does not fully portray the actual global linguistic situation. According to him it is not adequate to assume that globalization leads to a homogenization of cultures (2011: 517). In his view linguistics needs to focus on the local adaptations and use of English and it is not enough to generalize on a global level. Moreover he criticizes the narrow view that English is most widely learned for economic reasons and social mobility and asks for the evaluation of other reasons for the deliberate choice to acquire and learn English.

This last point is also Spolsky's (2004: 90) argument on which he bases his answer to the question "was or did English spread" (ibid.). According to him it was not deliberate language management that led to the global use of English but changes in various areas such as the economy, technology, society and others paved the way for English. Furthermore he claims that individual decisions made the spread

possible and not, as in Philipson's view, the deliberate language policy of English-speaking countries imposing English all over the world.

Like Spolsky, Brutt-Griffler (2002: 107) describes the active role of people in the acquisition and change of English in colonies in Africa and Asia. As mentioned above, she furthermore claims that although imperialism was the base for the spread of English it was also the struggle against imperial powers that led to an increasing use of English. Moreover she opposes the concept of linguistic imperialism in describing that a world language English does not replace other languages but it led to bilingualism in Africa for example (ibid: 122). In her description English is learned and used for global economic and political reasons but not on a national level. On this level national languages still persist. Hence according to Brutt-Griffler English is used in different domains globally while local, national languages are used in domains on a national level.

In the scientific discussion about the global spread of English researchers try to find reasons for the emergence of this global phenomenon. On the one hand there is the opinion that the English language as part of the globalization process is imposed by dominant groups upon people worldwide. Dominated groups have to adapt to economic, social, cultural and linguistic changes which all derive from a neo-liberal, capitalist, and American ideology. This domination of one group over the dominated groups creates inequalities in all above mentioned areas of life, domains. Through their role as the dominating group, English-speaking countries, according to this line of argumentation, have an advantage over countries where English is not a native language. The American, capitalist ideology is forced upon people on a global scale. Similarly US companies and their products influence the global market as they are available everywhere in the world. Alongside with this also American cultural products such as film and music (Wright 2004: 152-155) dominate the market and influence and homogenize diverse cultures into one global culture. And in addition to that the language of the dominating group, namely English, influences, changes and replaces national languages. Critics of the global spread of English therefore see a domination of one powerful group in every domain. This penetration of culture, tradition and language, in their opinion, needs

to be stopped. A laissez-faire policy supports the English spread and hence LPP needs to counteract it.

A strong opposition to this viewpoint emphasizes the power of the group who is affected by the imposition of English. Language is a powerful instrument. It has already been a tool for emancipation and citizenship in the early beginnings of state-nation building in Europe and still today it plays a crucial role for the individual. As House points out:

> In Nigeria, English has become *one* of the languages available for use, and it is its communication potential which makes people to decide to use English. (House 2003: 560)

In the postcolonial context it has not only been shown by Brutt-Griffler (2002: 112) that English language use can also be an instrument against foreign domination. Canagarajah explains his theory about the *resistance perspective* that in postcolonial setting people use English to indicate opposition to political structures and negotiate them:

> The intention is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical, and democratic terms [...]. (Canagarajah 1999: 2)

Brutt-Griffler (2002: 122) furthermore states that:

> English in these 'second language contexts' fulfills certain intellectual/cultural functions that it develops alongside the purely political and economic without thereby establishing itself as the basis of the local economy (the internal market).

In other words, although English is used not only in the economic and political but also the cultural domain, it is not penetrating the local discourse in these domains Today English is used in economic and cultural global discourses, but it remains a second/additional/foreign language in most countries, not penetrating the local discourse (in neither domain). People consciously choose to use English, intrinsically motivated, and they adapt the language according to the communicational needs.

These opposing positions exist for the question how English spread globally, who the profiteers are and what effects English has on countries, people and languages. The same holds true for the European context. The discussion about the profiteers

of English spread is still ongoing and there is a strong opposition in some linguistic research against the dominance of English and any kind of support of laissez-faire attitude towards English in Europe.

According to Ammon (2009: 22) English native-speakers force English language use upon others in Europe. And not only is the language imposed on Europeans but Europeans accept this and support the trend. He further states that while at first this only affects other foreign languages, it cannot be ruled out that the dominance of English might even lead to a decrease of national language use in every domain (ibid.: 22). Moreover Ammon claims that it is a threat to other big European (foreign) languages such as German and French, to support non-European foreign languages. And the British Council's promotion of the teaching of non-European languages in Britain is in Ammon's view a "[...] Schlag gegen die europäischen Fremdsprachen, abgesehen davon, dass sie auch zur sonstigen Distanz Großbritanniens gegenüber der EU passt"[2] (ibid.: 31). In addition to this criticism Ammon also lists two suggestions that could counteract the spread of English in Europe. But he notes that although he mentions these suggestions, they are not to be interpreted as his own demands and suggestions. He is aware that they would have dramatic negative effects on the EU. Nevertheless he claims that the only way to stop English spread is to accomplish the two following points: it needs to be prohibited that every student learns English and it should not be allowed that English is the best known language after graduation (ibid.: 29). While Ammon's goal is to illustrate that there is de facto no possibility to stop English in the EU, it remains unclear why he even mentions these unrealistic and, most importantly, unwanted suggestions (if not to say fantasies). He concludes that EU LPP should place greater emphasize on the power of languages as tools. As a consequence it might then be possible to fulfill both, the acceptance of linguistic diversity and of the power of communication. But it remains unclear how exactly this should happen as detailed, realistic suggestions are not stated.

Similarly the Civil Society Platform on Multilingualism, whose aim is to recommend and suggest further steps in EU LPP, on the one hand promotes and praises

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[2] Translation: "[…] assault on European foreign languages. Apart from that it also fits the general distance of Great Britain from the EU." (31)

multilingualism. On the other hand part of a working group on LPP, EU Pro VET, also comes to the conclusion that Europe needs a lingua franca in order to facilitate main EU goals of the open market (CSPoM Group Reports 2011: 6). The economist Francois Grin, who is part of this work group, notes that according to him it is incorrect to view English as this lingua franca as it creates linguistic inequalities no other lingua franca before has created (ibid.). It is therefore the only option in a European democracy to support multilingualism. This is also supported by the argument that there is only a small number of Europeans who actually have very good language competences in English. As the majority has only minor competences, English cannot fulfill the functions a common European language needs to fulfill. Taking into consideration results of the study *First European Survey on Language Competences 2012* presented in Chapter2, it can be confirmed that language competence levels vary to a great extent. While in some countries students achieve level B2, there is a similarly high percentage of students who only reach level A1. Nevertheless English is the first additional language in these countries and thus the results show that while competence levels vary, English is the most commonly learned additional language. It is therefore incorrect to claim that English cannot fulfill the functions of a common European language because competence levels vary. As English is the *de facto* lingua franca in Europe, the first additional language in all European countries, EU LPP needs to support English language teaching and develop plans to guarantee equal language education in all countries. It is not English as such that creates inequalities. EU LPP has still not achieved equal language competence levels in language education and therefore EU LPP creates inequalities as it fails to acknowledge the importance of English language competences for European citizens.

Interestingly the report admits that there has not been consent among the members whether English should be supported or reduced (CSPoM Key Recommendations 2011: 19). Nevertheless an interesting metaphor is another indicator of the strong rejection of English:

> [...] best made clear by likening English to a red rose, a very beautiful and popular flower. The popularity of a garden full of red roses with no other flower is less assured, however, yet this is where we may be going. (ibid. 15)

This inadequate comparison of English with red roses demonstrates once again the wrong assumption that a spread of the "killer language" English will lead to a homogenization of the linguistic and cultural landscape of Europe. This statement reflects two ideologically influenced beliefs. The first being the fear that teaching English will lead to an EU where English is the only, or at the least the only additional, language spoken. As will be shown in Chapter 4 the new conceptualization of English as a Lingua Franca (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011, Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer forthc.) demonstrates that ELF supports and calls for multilingualism and thus promotes linguistic diversity. It is therefore incorrect to assume that a support of ELF will lead to "a garden full of red roses with no other flower".

The second belief the metaphor is influenced by is one of the main arguments of the EU for a promotion of multilingualism:

> Although English has a leading role as the business language of the world, it is other languages that will provide EU companies with a competitive edge and allow them to conquer new markets. (COM (2008) 566: 8)

Applying the garden metaphor to this statement, an EU full of red roses instead of a mixed variety of flowers is less popular and therefore does not give a competitive edge to the European economy. But it needs to be added that the "new markets" referred to in the EU document, are the BRICK countries Brazil, Russia, India and China. To conquer these new markets it is not enough to learn European languages, but non-European languages need to be learned. But this again causes strong oppositions as can be observed in Ammon's account on the British Council's language education policy. The only European language useful in these BRICK countries would be Portuguese. But this is also problematic, as was confirmed to me during my internship in Siemens VAI. In this company it was decided not to promote a Portuguese employee for the position of project manager in Brazil, due to resentments against the Portuguese in Brazil. This is of course a decision based on ideologies, attitudes and experience and cannot be proven with data, but nevertheless this company, present in different countries all over the world, decided that, although the Portuguese employee had the best language skills, language barriers could be overcome with Brazilian translators. This example is not to say that languages do not play an important role in these BRICK countries,

but that the language skills necessary are not European language skills but non-European.

In addition to that, regional reports on English language proficiency published by EF-Education First show that in Brazil, China and Russia a rising number of students learn English (http://www.ef.com/epi/, 25 April 2013). In China students starting at the age of 6 have compulsory English lessons, they have to pass the Zhong Kao exam one part being on English language competences and all University students have to pass the CET-4 exam on their English competences at the end of their studies (http://www.ef.com/epi/asia/china/, 25 April 2013). Similarly in Russia more students learn English and so in 2010 92% of the students taking the USE exam for foreign languages after secondary school chose to be tested in English (http://www.ef.com/epi/europe/russia/, 25 April 2013).

To assume that the European linguistic diversity, based on European languages, will be essential on the global market is therefore not a strong argument. This is not to say that multilingualism is not necessary in the EU and not worth promoting. But EU LPP needs to take into consideration that English language competences are increasingly important for the global economy as well as cooperation and business within the EU. The new understanding of ELF will demonstrate that a broad linguistic repertoire and metalinguistic skills will lead to successful ELF communication. Hence yes, European linguistic diversity may be the advantage the EU has in contrast to other countries, in so far is it supports efficient ELF communication and helps speakers to adapt to different communicative situations with varying interlocutors with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Both examples, Ammon's paper on the dominance of English in Europe and the Recommendations of the CSPoM, illustrate the strong and partially emotional opposition against English spread in Europe, or more precisely in some research and LPP. As has been shown in Chapter 2, most EU LPP is characterized by the same rejection of English. Already in the *Action Plan 2004-2006 Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity* it is unmistakably stated that a public consultation has shown:

> The propositions that English alone is not enough, and that lessons should be made available in a wide variety of languages were widely supported. (COM (2003) 449: 4)

In addition to that the *Action Plan 2004-2006* warns against the negative impacts a spread of English can have on linguistic diversity and vitality of national languages (ibid.: 8). The conclusion is that one European lingua franca is not enough (ibid.: 24). And this same argument is resumed two years later in *A New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism*. It is again stated that "English is not enough" (COM (2005) 596: 4).

The linguist Phillipson (2003) did not only describe *linguistic imperialism* on a global level, but he dedicates a whole book (and several articles) on the threat of an "English-only Europe". According to him there are some worst-case and best-case scenarios for EU LPP and he concludes in suggesting solutions to the LPP problems in the EU. In his enumeration of worst-case scenarios he claims the following might happen:

> *laissez faire* at the national and supranational levels, linguistic nationalism […] lead to English 'triumphing' over all other European languages, speakers of which experience increasing marginalization, domain loss, attrition of their languages, and a loss of cultural vitality, and there is an intensification of the polarization between haves and have-nots locally, Europe-wide, and globally, that correlates closely with a consolidation of corporate power and proficiency in English. (Phillipson 2003: 176)

In Phillipson's viewpoint, an EU LPP that does not work against the spread of English is likely to lead to an EU in which speakers of other languages than English will be disadvantaged. Moreover languages other than English will be forced back and they will loose vitality. But new findings in ELF research proof that ELF is not a threat to linguistic diversity. This has for example been found out in a study on ELF as a mediation tool between users of Romance languages in chatrooms:

> […] as a partner language in multilingual and intercultural communicative encounters, English does not damage communicative multilingual diversity but rather helps to maintain it by interacting with other languages of communication. (Melo-Pfeifer 2012: 16)

According to Phillipson, English is not only a threat to linguistic diversity but English dominance will also have an influence on issues related to power and welfare. This assumption is based on the belief that the only English that spreads is

the native speaker norm. According to this line of argumentation English native speakers are advantaged as they already speak the dominant language. Phillipson argues against the current understanding of ELF, which is not native speaker oriented, and states:

> One can use local forms for local purposes, but if communication is to function internationally, there has to be more serious engagement with intelligibility and linguistic norms shared across cultures. A 'World Standard Spoken English' is bound to be based on Anglo-American mother tongue norms (ibid.: 166)

Phillipson's argument that ELF needs to be based on native speaker norms does not correspond with the conceptualization of ELF as can be seen in the following statements:

> With the lingua franca proposal, there is no suggestion that any reduction should be imposed, but the modified forms of the language which are actually in use should be recognized as legitimate development of English as an international means of communication. (Widdowson 2003: 361)

> ELF emphasizes the role of English in communication between speakers from different LIs [...] it implies that 'mixing' languages is acceptable ... and thus that there is nothing inherently wrong in retaining certain characteristics of the LI such as accent; finally, the Latin name symbolically removes the ownership of English from the Anglos both to no one and, in effect, to everyone. (Jenkins 2000: 11)

> So the criterion for selecting language to be taught is not whether it is proper English as measured against standard norms or the conventions of NS usage but whether it is appropriate English-locally appropriate to the purpose of developing a capability in the language. (Seidlhofer 2011: 199)

Similarly to Brutt-Griffler's account on the agency of users of World English, Widdowson, Jenkins, and also Seidlhofer argue that in the ELF context the language belongs to every user and the users adapt it according to the communicative situation. It is thus not true to claim that English has to be bound to native speaker norms but it "[...] becomes irrelevant for successful ELF communication [...]" (Illés 2011: 6). ELF does not prescribe any variety:

> It is up to learners and users of English to decide which kind of English they need and want. What would be a sensible suggestion, however, is that some awareness of the global roles of English should be achieved by all English user in the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles alike. (Seidlhofer 2006: 48)

Taking into consideration these accounts on ELF, Phillipson's scaremongering in his worst-case scenario are proven to be unrealistic. In Chapter 4 it will be discussed in greater detail, what exactly ELF is and how it can coexist with linguistic diversity and even calls for European multilingualism. But already these brief clarifications of some misconceptions show that not only EU LPP is based on wrong and ideologically influenced beliefs, but that there also a strong basis in linguistic research, based on (ideologically and politically influenced) misconceptions, fighting a battle against English as a Lingua Franca that is outdated and ideologically and politically influenced.

As a result of these misconceptions and beliefs, EU LPP still fights against English in the EU. It has been shown in Chapter 2 that English is the first additional language learned in all European countries. Moreover 69% of the Europeans think it is necessary that every European citizen speaks one common language and more than the half wants the EU to communicate with its citizens in one common language.

An EU based on the principles of democracy and equality, future-oriented and established to improve cooperation seems to overlook the opinion and wish of Europe's citizens and most importantly its future, its youth. As was demonstrated in Chapter 2, interviewed students do not consider it problematic if English were used as a common language for Europe. Moreover the European student organization AEGEE, present in every European country, published a position paper on languages in Europe in 2007 (http://www.aegee.org/position-paper-on-languages-in-europe-a-clear-european-language-policy-ensuring-effective-communication-and-equal-rights-for-all-citizens/ 7 April 2013). They propose four criteria for EU LPP. For them it is necessary that all citizens should have the right to use their native language in everyday life and when communicating with national (!) European institutions. It is therefore not necessary to guarantee the use of all official European languages in all European institutions, but only on a national level. Moreover further action needs to be taken to safeguard minority languages and therefore AEGEE suggests status and corpus planning to guarantee language vitality. In addition to that two crucial criteria are described as follows:

> Whereas the above criteria postulate protection of the current multilingual landscape, effective communication demands one common language.

> Solving this paradox is the core of successful language policy. One language has to be chosen   as bridge language for all Europeans. On top of that, Europeans should be encouraged to learn the language of neighbouring regions. (ibid.)

> A group identity is based on common features, shared history, shared territory and possibly a shared language. A group identity can also develop in bilingual or multilingual groups. A necessary precondition however is mutual understanding and trust, which can only be reached by civil dialogue, impossible without a shared means of communication. This common language can then become an important ingredient of the European identity. (ibid.)

These criteria show that the European youth wants to support linguistic equality and the preservation of minority language. At the same time AEGEE members also feel the need for a unifying language in the EU in order to foster mutual understanding and as a consequence create a European identity. Nevertheless in the conclusion it becomes clear that also these young people fear that linguistic equality cannot be guaranteed together with the implementation of common European language such as English. And so they demand that a language is chosen that is not one of the big national languages:

> The only scenario that can fulfil all four above described criteria at the same time, is the election of a common second language for all Europeans that is not one of the big national languages. (ibid.)

This statement demonstrates once again the common misbelieve that the adoption of a common European language is a threat to linguistic diversity and contradicts the existence of multilingualism.

EU LPP needs to take into consideration new developments in linguistic research on ELF, multilingualism and identity, in order to create a LPP that meets the actual needs of European citizens as well as the European economy. Today, under the guise of equal linguistic rights and linguistic diversity an anti-English-promotion by some linguists as well as EU LPP seeks to diminish the already existing dominance and acceptance of English in various domains in the EU. This malicious campaign highlights low language competences in English (CSPoM Group Reports 2011: 6). But instead of suggesting improving English competence levels in all EU countries, for people of all ages and across all social classes, and thus diminishing actual linguistic inequalities, linguists like Ammon (2009: 22) and Phillipson

(2003: 176) criticize that English dominance creates disadvantages (inequalities) for other European languages.

EU LPP has so far not reacted to actual linguistic trends that point towards a steady increase in the learning of English. This trend is not supported in EU LPP but the main focus lies on how multilingualism can be forced upon EU citizens. *Mother-tongue +2* is still a main agenda while alternative models are only recently starting to be developed (cf. DYLAN; a detailed description of this project can be found in Chapter 5).

The empirical data from Chapter 2 as well as the demands of the youth organization AEGEE reveal that there is a demand for a common European language. At the same time a fear of language dominance of some powerful national languages is visible not only in surveys but more importantly also in the works of some linguists. It seems to be necessary to find a way to overcome these fears and prejudices. This could be achieved by having a closer look at the reasons behind EU LPP to promote multilingualism. It might show that EU LPP is shaped by political and national power struggles and does not focus enough on the actual needs of Europeans in the global economy as well as in European identity formation. If these ideological boundaries could be overcome it could furthermore be communicated to Europeans that a common European language does not threat national and minority languages (cf. bilingual situation in Africa and Asia).

4. English as a Lingua Franca and its Power in the EU

> […] a means of intercultural communication not tied to particular countries and ethnicities, a linguistic resource that is not contained in, or constrained by, traditional (and notoriously tendentious) ideas of what constitutes 'a language'. (Seidlhofer 2011: 81)

It has been revealed so far that EU LPP has developed from a policy defining language knowledge only as a crucial skill for the European and global economy to a broader understanding of languages as assets for the individual, supporting mutual, cultural understanding and creating a common European identity (cf. Chapter 2). For almost 20 years the EU LPP's goal has been to implement the *mother tongue + 2* policy. Despite this long period of time and enumerable initiatives, regulations and communications today only one quarter of the Europeans speak 2 additional languages well enough to communicate and almost half of the Europeans are still not able to speak any additional language (cf. Chapter 2). Today half of the Europeans speak an additional language and around 40% claim that this AL is English. It has been shown in Chapter 2, that considering some historical remains in national language policies in some countries, English is already the dominant AL in all 27 European countries. And this variety of English is used not only in the work domain but there is also a high number of Europeans who use English in the private domain.

The English dominance visible around the world is a reality in every European country and this trend can be expected to further spread and manifest itself in the future. But what kind of English is it that is used by so many Europeans as their additional language? How can it be defined and whose English is it? The following chapter will define this English, English as a Lingua Franca. As a further step it should be demonstrated that ELF can have a powerful function in the creation of a common European identity, adhering to the European principle "united in diversity" and supporting multilingualism.

4.1. What is this thing called ELF?

Throughout this thesis several references were made to a common language used in Europe and the term English as a Lingua Franca has been used to describe it. But what exactly is ELF and how does it differ to other conceptualizations of English? The notion of lingua franca derives from the Mediterranean pidgin language of the first half of the second millennium used by Italians, Greeks, Turks and French (Ostler 2010: 4). One of the most important lingua francas in Europe was Latin that emerged in the religious, scientific and political domain. Some centuries later French became the elite and diplomatic lingua franca in Europe while at the same time Latin remained important for religion and science.

In the late 20th century the use of English as a Lingua Franca, henceforth referred to as ELF, rose. Today ELF is highly debated, a current topic in linguistic research and different definitions and conceptualizations are discussed. While Firth (1996: 240) defined ELF as a chosen contact languages for non-native speakers, the latest definition by Seidlhofer states that the term ELF describes:

> […] any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option. (Seidlhofer 2011: 7)

This means that ELF communication is not restricted to non-native speakers but it covers communication across all three Kachruvian Circles. The increasing international encounters of people from different linguacultural backgrounds demands flexibility in language use, one of the main characteristics of ELF described by Seidlhofer (ibid.: 80). This flexibility means that norms are not fixed and native-speaker oriented but they are created and adapted in concordance with each individual communicative situation (ibid.). Seidlhofer comes to the conclusion that in ELF communication speakers from the Kachruvian Expanding Circle are advantaged as they are less bound and used to native-speaker rules as English speakers from the Inner and Outer Circle (ibid.: 81). Similarly Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011: 284) claim that non-native speakers in an ELF context are "highly skilled communicators who make use of their multilingual resources in ways not available to monolingual NSEs" (NSE meaning native speakers). Along the same line MacKenzie argues that:

> The multilingual approach to ELF suggests that European ELF speakers would do better not to over-monitor or censor themselves, but rather use lexis and phraseology that may not be standard NS English, but which they can reasonably expect their ELF interlocutors to understand (MacKenzie 2012: 93)

The main characteristics of ELF are its flexibility and hybridity. While the first refers to the flexible use and adaption of native speaker norms, the latter describes the mixed nature of ELF. As Jenkins (2007: 1) notes, already the original Mediterranean Lingua Franca was a mix of different languages and so is today's ELF a mix or "plurilinguistic composition" (ibid.) of influences from various languages.

It is important to note that ELF is not considered a distinct variety of English. According to Cogo (2012: 98), a variety is stable and spoken by a stable *speech community*. But as has been shown above, ELF is exactly the opposite: it is flexible and created *ad hoc* depending on the linguacultural context. And clearly the speech community of ELF communication, or rather correctly the ELF community of speakers, is heterogeneous and not stable; hence a new understanding of community needs to be adapted for the ELF context (Seidlhofer 2007; House 2006). Therefore it has been suggested that ELF occurs in *communities of practice* (cf. House 2003: 572), a term coined by Lave and Wenger (1991) and adapted for linguistics by Eckert (1992: 464):

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations - in short, practices - emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor. A community of practice is different as a social construct from the traditional notion of community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages.

In contrast to the traditional notion of stable speech communities, a group of speakers with one common native language, communities of practice are constructed through the practice and they do not pre-exist the community. The same holds true for the flexible and hybrid ELF communication in which "norms are negotiated ad hoc" (Seidlhofer 2011: 8). ELF occurs in situations in which people from different nations, continents and with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds communicate. They adapt the linguistic norms according to the

shared language knowledge and they take into consideration cultural, linguistic and national differences, while creating a common ground on which ideas can be exchanged. The constellation of these ELF communities of practice can be manifold and therefore the "practice" has to be adapted in each encounter. Hencein the global ELF context, communities cannot be referred to as ELF speech communities, but communities of practice.

As a result of the new understanding of community in ELF, it becomes clear that ELF is not a variety that is used in a fixed community but it needs to be referred to as "registers as used in different kind of communication" (ibid: 86). Seidlhofer underlines the importance of action, practice and use for the conceptualization of ELF when she describes Halliday's definition of register, namely the variety focusing on *use* instead of *user* as in the definition of dialect. According to Widdowson (2003: 54) the distinction between dialect and register is not so much visible in the distinction between community and communication, because according to him there are users and communities in relation to register. But the difference to dialect communities is that they are not local but global and people enter these communities through secondary socialization. This is also pointed out by Seidlhofer when she describes ELF "as a language of secondary socialization" (Seidlhofer 2011: 86). Thus both Seidlhofer and Widdowson describe register (and hence also ELF) as a means of wider, global communication that is not part people's primary (speech) community. ELF research does not describe and analyze a concrete and fixed variety but it tries to understand the practices that underlie successful ELF communication. In Seidlhofer words (2011: 197), it is thus the goal that students are not taught a variety but that they are able "to language":

> Learning to language involves the use of strategies for making sense, negotiating meaning, co-constructing understanding, and so on, in short the strategic exploitation of the linguistic resources of the virtual language that characterizes the use of ELF […]. (Seidlhofer 2011: 198)

Kirkpatrick (2007: 193, 194) notes that it is necessary to cover three areas in ELF research in order for it to be useful for language teaching. Besides Jenkins' (2000, 2002) description of phonological features of ELF that hinder or allow mutual intelligibility it is furthermore necessary to examine cultural differences which effect intercultural communication. In addition to that "[…] students would need to

be taught the communicative strategies that aid successful cross-cultural communication" (Kirkpatrick 2007: 194). Besides these three areas it has also been argued by scholars (cf. Seidlhofer 2011: 199; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 306) that ELF research is aimed at providing new findings for teachers in order for them to rethink their attitudes towards ELF as well as their teaching practices. Moreover ELF research:

> […]promotes the raising of awareness of intercultural phenomena in communication and the importance of strategies like linguistic accommodation and negotiation of meaning thereby, again, giving more prominence to how mutual understanding is achieved than to an enforced convergence on standards. (Hülmbauer, Böhringer, Seidlhofer 2008: 33)

4.2. Identity and ELF

> In reality, our very sense of who we are, where we belong and why, and how we relate to those around us, all have language at their centre. (Joseph 2010: 9)

> […] identity is the social positioning of self and other. (Bucholtz & Hall 2010: 18)

> We represent and negotiate identity, and construct that of others, through speaking and hearing. (Miller 2006: 294)

The research on identity and its connection to language is fairly new (overview of research for example in Joseph 2004 and 2010) and the first linguist to investigate on identity markers in language was Labov in the early 1960's. In his work he examined the dialect of residents of Martha's Vineyard, an island near Cape Cod and summer residence for the rich and famous from the Northeast of the USA. Labov (1963: 307) found out that permanent residents pronounce diphthongs differently than the summer holidays' visitors. And via this difference in pronunciation Vineyarder index that they are the actual residents of the island to whom it belongs. Following Labov's research, Milroy (1980) investigated on localized networks, "social networks", that maintain particular forms of speech to signal membership and cohesion of a group.

About ten years after Labov's first analysis of identity in linguistics, Lakoff focused his research on identity and gender roles displayed through language. According to him (1973) features of women's language mark their identity, which is inferior to the male social role. Some of the features in female language are for example hedging and pauses and they all indicate insecurity and an inferior position to men. Hence language, more precisely specific linguistic markers, indicates a gender role and identity.
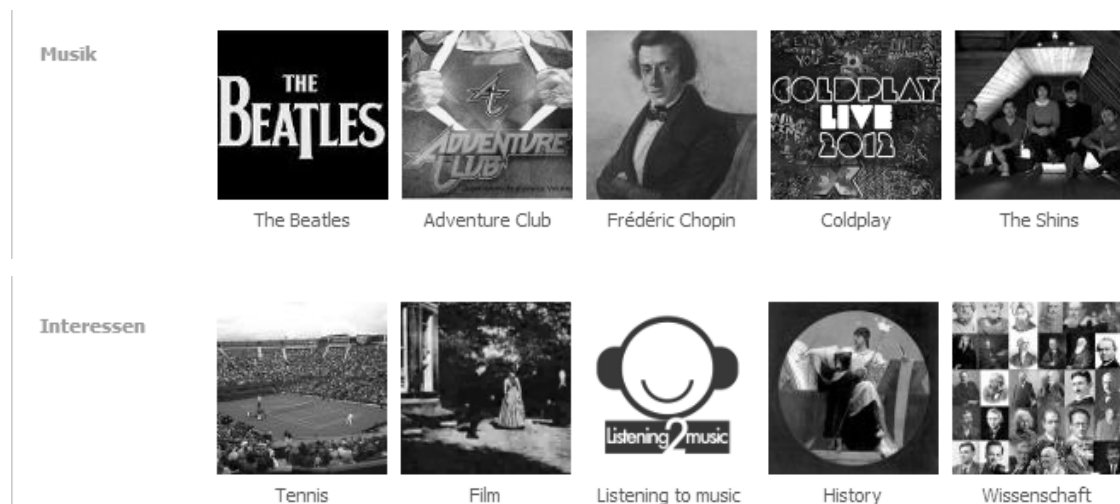
An important step forward in the field of identity and sociolinguistics is Tajfel's (1978) conceptualization of the *social identity theory*. As opposed to former theories, Tajfel describes the *self-concept* of individuals who are not bound to traditional social categories. In addition to that it is essential that an individual has diverse and multiple social identities. According to the social identity theory the important part of identity is the membership of an individual in a group. This creates a strong feeling of in-group versus out-group. Moreover the emotional value that is linked to the membership is an important part of identity. Hence in contrast to Labov's and Lakoff's description of only one single aspect of identity, heritage and gender, the social identity theory for the first time describes the hybridity of identities as well as the aspect of self-concept. In Tajfel's definition the individual and his/her own categorization and feeling of membership are the focal point.

Different to Tajfel's focus on the individual, Anderson (1991) describes the aspect of identity in connection with nations as "imagined communities". While Labov and Milroy worked on identity in localized small communities whose members stay in close proximity and contact with each other, members of a nation never meet, still they believe in the community and the shared beliefs and values attributed with it. Already ten years before Anderson, Fish coined the term "interpretative community". It describes communities whose members although they never meet share norms spread by educational system, the media etc. The idea of group identities is thus further developed from small localized communities described by Labov to greater, more complex and modern forms of communities. The fact that identity is analyzed not only for local phenomena but on a broader spectrum allows for the investigation of identity in a modern globalized world. Today people

are part of more imagined communities and not only states; for example the Facebook community to name only one recent phenomenon. These new forms of communities show what recent research on identity tries to describe. Identity from a poststructuralist perspective is not essential like ethnicity and gender but it is continuously constructed and performed by individuals:

> Each of us performs a repertoire of identities that are constantly shifting, and that we negotiate and re-negotiate according to the circumstances. (Joseph 2010: 14)

Today, more than ever, people repeatedly demand membership in diverse communities and they change identities in different situations. Keeping to the example of facebook and the internet, people indicate their membership in different communities in so far as they join groups on the social media platform. Moreover they show on their online profile, in describing their personal interests for example, that they are interested in high culture, classic literature, philosophy and arts and at the same time they enjoy pop culture, watching famous TV shows or listening to the latest hip-hop number one artist. People index their membership in diverse groups through the medium of internet and social media, be it real or only to position the identity in groups that the individual would like to be part of. The following pictures are taken from a facebook profil and should represent the diverse interests the person lists. As the privacy of the people behind these facebook profiles needs to be guaranteed, the links will not be included. The interests range from high culture examples such as Chopin, Wissenschaft (science) and Stephen Hawking to examples of pop culture like the Beatles, Film (movies) and Steve Jobs.

| Musik | The Beatles | Adventure Club | Frédéric Chopin | Coldplay | The Shins |

| Interessen | Tennis | Film | Listening to music | History | Wissenschaft |

Inspirierende Personen

Stephen Hawking   Roger Federer   Aung San Suu Kyi   Barack Obama   Steve Jobs
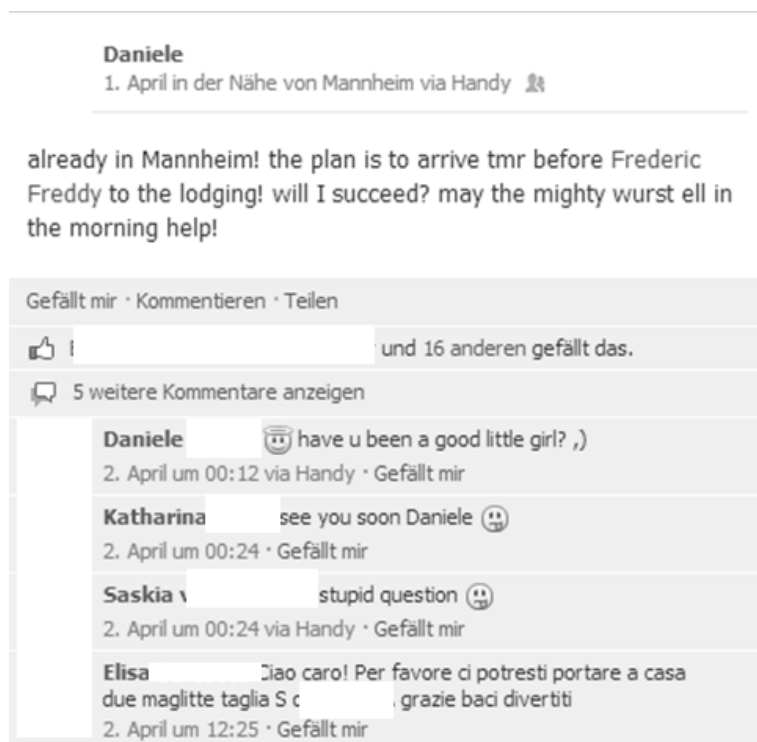
Increasingly important on social media platforms is language as an identity marker. To post something in a specific language already transmits a message. A personal example provides further evidence for this hypothesis. While working in Italy I became friends with a young woman from Turkey. She fell in love with an Italian and therefore moved to Italy. Now in her new home country she still struggled to find friends, while at the same time despite facebook and email she lost contact with her friends in Turkey. For a long time she did not understand why old friends did not comment on her posts about her new life in Italy and why new Italian friends did not either. Only after a while her Turkish friends told her that because she started posting news in English they felt that the news she posted were meant for other international friends. As soon as she shared information in Turkish, Italian and English friends understood that the messages were directed towards them and so they replied.

It is interesting to observe that although some facebook users post in English in order for their friends around the globe to understand the message, very often friends "at home" do not feel to be part of the community the message is addressed to. Because if the message was addressed to them, it would be in the native language, the language they have always communicated in. Another striking phenomenon is the increasing use of English whenever a message or post tries to address a wide variety of people, describing important news or topics of general interest (politics, economic trends, gossip, human rights etc.) for a transnational and global community, or whenever students are on a semester abroad, meet people from different countries and use ELF to address this "Erasmus community".

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The following three screenshots show the use of ELF in different contexts. The first screenshot is a status posted by an Italian. He describes a game with his friend in which both try to reach the holiday destination first. This holiday is a meeting of young people from all over Europe in Germany, therefore in the comment section a German as well as a girl from the Netherlands talk with Daniele. This conversation is not only based on communication through ELF because the interlocutors are non-native speakers of English, but Daniele also code-switches when he writes "wurst ell", which should probably stand for the German word "Würstel".

Daniele
1. April in der Nähe von Mannheim via Handy

already in Mannheim! the plan is to arrive tmr before Frederic Freddy to the lodging! will I succeed? may the mighty wurst ell in the morning help!

Gefällt mir · Kommentieren · Teilen

👍 I   und 16 anderen gefällt das.

💬 5 weitere Kommentare anzeigen

Daniele   have u been a good little girl? ,)
2. April um 00:12 via Handy · Gefällt mir

Katharina   see you soon Daniele 😊
2. April um 00:24 · Gefällt mir

Saskia \   stupid question 😊
2. April um 00:24 via Handy · Gefällt mir

Elisa   Ciao caro! Per favore ci potresti portare a casa due maglitte taglia S c   . grazie baci divertiti
2. April um 12:25 · Gefällt mir

Similarly to Daniele, also Georg, an Austrian studying in Germany, uses English to inform his friends on facebook that he is on a conference in Barcelona. As this information is probably not only addressed to his friends in Austria and Germany but also to the conference participants, Georg uses ELF in this case, while in other posts he writes in German.

> **Carl Georg**
> 24. Juni 2012 via Handy
>
> 30 C, sun, and a conference hotel with pool in Barcelona - great.
>
> Gefällt mir · Kommentieren   👍 8
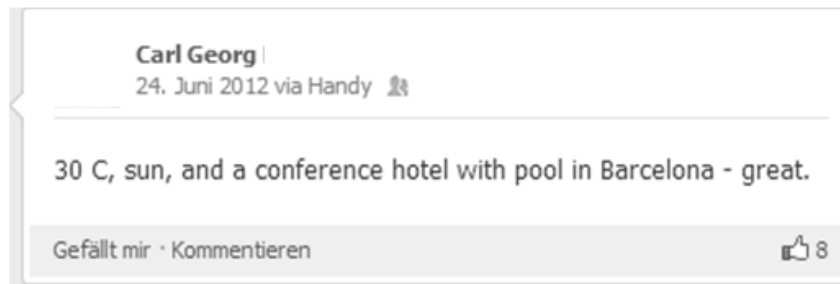
The third example, another post from Daniele, shows that facebook users also frequently use ELF whenever they share links and news that might be interesting for a broader community of facebook friends. Daniele was informed about this English link by an Italian friend and a German friend commented on the link in English.

> **Daniel** hat einen Link geteilt.
> 1. März
>
> For all the people who work with computer out there!
> Thanks Federico for finding it!
>
> **The Reality of Developer's Life**
> www.javacodegeeks.com
>
> In this post I am going to try to illustrate in a funny way the reality of developers life.This post is a translation of another post written in Spanish. When you upload something to production…
>
> Gefällt mir · Kommentieren · Teilen   👍 3 💬 1
>
> 👍   und 2 anderen gefällt das.
>
> **Katharina**   😊 awesome!
> 1. März um 16:17 · Gefällt mir · 👍 1

The facebook examples compiled through personal experience, show that membership to a community is clearly indicated by language and the language, variety or dialect used on facebook already sends a message and creates a community of addressees. In a globalized world, in which people are connected transnationally via social media without respect to national borders, identities are constantly created and adapted. And while identities become more flexible, the

importance of indexing membership to diverse groups rises; although frequently these memberships are not true in reality but only create a (virtual) image.

Throughout these last paragraphs the verb index was used several times, a term referring to one of five principles described by Buchholz and Hall (2010: 18-28). The five principles demonstrate main aspects of identity that challenge the traditional understanding of identity as a fixed and pre-existing phenomenon.

The *emergence* principle describes the fact that identity is created and not a fixed set of rules. As an example Buchholz and Hall mention that whenever a linguistic practice does not conform to traditional social categories it is obvious that identity is created in the situation and does not adhere to fixed set of norms. In addition to the emergence of identity, individuals position themselves in a broad spectrum of categories (*positionality* principle). But this does not mean that an individual can only belong to one category, quite the contrary is true. In every encounter a positioning in many categories is visible. Both these principles underline the poststructuralist view on identity, namely its flexibility and hybridity.

Besides these principles the already mentioned *indexicality* principle indicates the power of the individual in their own identity formation. Through the use of a certain language, variety or linguistic repertoire individuals index their manifold identities. In this context attitudes and emotions towards language play an important role. Thus a facebook user posting news in English can index that he/she is part of a global community and his/her thoughts and ideas need to be understood by this community. Moreover the use of English could signal that the user lives in an English speaking country, or a country in which he/she uses ELF to communicate with new friends. In using ELF the user also invites more of his/her virtual friends to take part in the discussion and therefore creates a transnational dialogue. He/she might therefore index that it is part of his/her identity to exchange ideas in transnational context and understand people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. In order for the users' friends to understand why he/she uses ELF it is necessary that they have similar attitudes towards the language. While some consider English (ELF) to index modernity and globalism,

others might have rather negative attitudes towards the language and understand it as a threat to their own heritage culture.

The fourth, the *relationality* principle refers to the contradictory elements of identity. Buchholz and Hall name three categories: similarity versus difference, genuineness versus artifice and authority versus delegitimacy. The first opposition describes that on the one hand identity is created through a feeling of similarity between members of a group and on the other hand an individual's identity is also based on distinctiveness and individuality. The second contrasting group of relationality shows that while identity is proven to be genuine/real through discourse at the same identity can be proven to be artifical. An example of the latter is when expectations linked to an identity are dismissed (see also example of emergence principle). The last contradicting pair are authority and delegitimacy which describes that identity can be confirmed through power and authority but it can also be ignored by the same authority.

The *partialness* principle, the last of five, describes how identity is constructed and that "[…] it is […] constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts" (ibid. 25). Identity is created partially via self-categorization, perception of others, negotiation and sometimes it is more deliberately constructed while in other instances identity formation happens less consciously.

Buchholz and Hall's five principles describe a modern view on identity. Identity does not simply indicate membership to fixed social categories. Identity is manifold and partial. It is constantly created and re-created, it emerges, and it is not a pre-existing concept. Identity is used to position the individual in comparison to others. The individual indexes his/her identity and he/she does not belong to any fixed category or community. Identities are constructed in relation to other identities and they are not independent of these relations.

In the last decades of research into the importance of language for individual and group identity it has been shown that through language people indicate and create their identity. Languages are a means of identification with a group and they show membership to a group. But what about ELF? Is ELF a language of identification or

is it simply a language for communication? House (2008: 63-86) discussed the role of identity in ELF communication with focus on the European situation. According to her, ELF cannot be considered a language of identification because rather L1s would function as identity markers. With this remark she is responding to the concern of many (linguists) that the increasing use of ELF will threaten L1s and national languages. House explains that due to the fact that ELF is only considered to facilitate communication, L1s will still be the languages of identification. Moreover she argues that ELF is "a medium that can be given substance with different national, regional, local and individual cultural identities" (ibid. 67). In other words ELF as such is a language of communication but through ELF the interlocutors' diverse identities can be displayed. This does not mean that ELF users adapt to an English (British, American etc.) identity, but they index their own identity (nationality, culture etc.) through ELF as they adapt English according to the communicative situation. House goes even further in her argumentation indicating that the use of ELF supports heritage languages, languages of identification which can be observed for example in pop music (ibid. 69).

In Chapter 2 have already pointed out trends in music in which musicians adapt English, mix English with heritage languages or only take the music as such and use a heritage language for the lyrics. The use of language as identity marker in these examples of youth pop culture in the EU indicates that musicians consciously use language to send a message. While a song with English lyrics might indicate that the musician is part of a global music community or the American culture, the adaptation of English or the exclusive use of heritage language indexes the musician's local identity bound to a national or local community. In these instances it becomes clear that language is used to identify with a certain community. Furthermore the versatile use of different languages by one artist or several artists of one nationality support the view of identity as being flexible, hybrid and partial. And so in using English and a local heritage language musicians index a hybrid identity that is partially bound to the global world and issues important globally and partially bound to the local, the phenomena typical for a region, culture, speech community and nation.

Bearing in mind the importance of English in pop culture, it is difficult to imagine that ELF is not at all a language of identification. The conceptualization of ELF described above shows that it is not bound to any native speaker norms, linguistically and culturally. Nevertheless ELF creates a community and although it is not a distinct speech community it is a community, a community of practice according to some scholars. And being part of this community adds another aspect to the individual's identity. It is true that the motivation behind the use of ELF in the EU is *instrumental* and the definition of ELF *functional* (cf. Seidlhofer 2011) but both these aspects do not contradict the existence of identification with ELF. As Cogo argues:

> ELF is not in any way neutral and this precisely because it belongs to all who use it, with all the sociocultural values, backgrounds, and understanding that speakers are bringing with them and co-constructing. (Cogo 2012: 103)

Similarly Baker states that his study shows that the participants use ELF to "express and construct individual, local, national and global cultures and identities in dynamic, hybrid and emergent ways" (Baker 2011: 47).

Recent descriptions and definitions of identity construction underline exactly this hybrid nature of identity and fit into the conceptualization of identity in the ELF context. Canagarajah (2005) investigates *global* language practices with focus on the *local* and describes the "shuttling between communities" of Asian users of English. This can be adapted to the ELF concept as interlocutors in an ELF communication are part of diverse cultures and display hybrid identities.

Byram (2008) focuses on the concept of *intercultural citizenship,* and suggests that a language user who is able to take part in intercultural communication can develop an identity of an intercultural citizen, travelling between cultures, and part of a community of *intercultural citizens.* Applying this model to ELF communication in the EU, this concept indicates that through the use of linguistic practices needed for successful ELF communication, EU citizens could identify with the community of intercultural (European) citizens.

Being part of this ELF community that is based on diverse sociocultural backgrounds creates an identity. Through the communication in ELF, drawing

upon linguistic strategies and multilingual resources, the interlocutors identify with the concept underlying ELF communication as well as with other interlocutors of this ELF communication. It is this understanding of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the accommodation to different interlocutors and the skills to refer back to one's own multilingual competences that creates a group identity as well as it adds to the individual identity. The ELF group's identity indexes heterogeneity, diversity, mutual understanding, accommodation, adaption and teamwork to communicate successfully. For the relation of ELF to the individual's identity it should be assumed that a competent ELF user, able to adapt, understand and work together with others "around mutual engagement in an endeavour" (Eckert & McConnell 1992: 464), identifies with the global community that is using ELF everyday to collaborate, exchange ideas and discuss ideas. A global, or transnational and intercultural, community that is able to work together and understand each other better through ELF communication.

In how far is this concept of community and identity in ELF communication now relevant for the European situation? In the *White Paper on Education and Training,* published by the EU in 1995, it is declared that "Multilingualism is part and parcel of both European identity/citizenship and the learning society" (COM (95) 590: 47). Today, on the EU's website on EU LPP, reasons for the support of multilingualism are explained in the section "frequently asked questions". Here it is stated under point 2 that the EU wants to "help the citizens of the 27 Member States develop a sense of EU citizenship" (http://ec.europa.eu/languages/orphans/faq_en.htm#8, 16 April 2013). Both these EU statements show that in the EU it is assumed that the creation of a European identity and citizenship is accomplished via multilingualism. It is the multilingual nature of the EU that has always been part of the political ideology and so in supporting and creating multilingualism a European identity will emerge according to the document. As a consequence it is stated several times that "English is not enough", as it is of course only one of 27 official European languages connoted with British culture and society. In treating all languages equally it is claimed that no citizen will be discriminated against through language. Nevertheless it has been shown in previous chapters that the growing demand for English globally asks for specific support of English. Moreover it is the EU citizens'

wish that a common language for communication will be decided upon. It is only logical that the already existing European lingua franca, ELF, should fulfil this wish to communicate in one language transnationally in the EU. It has been shown in this chapter that the new conceptualization of ELF, a language that is not bound to native speaker norms, can be the culture and nationality neutral language the EU needs. As has been indicated above ELF is not neutral as such but it is not connected to British or American culture and nationality nor bound to native speaker linguistic norms. ELF is in fact multilingual and multicultural, adapted and accommodated for each communicative instance, with the goal of mutual understanding. In a successful ELF communication interlocutors draw upon their multilingual resources (Cogo 2012: 103) using communication strategies (ibid: 104) such as pragmatic (ibid: 99) or collaborative (ibid: 101) strategies. Hence an interlocutor who has some knowledge of other languages and linguistic systems and diverse cultural backgrounds will be more successful in ELF communication than an English native speaker. And this hypothesis is confirmed by Seidlhofer (2011: 81) when she claims that people from the Expanding Circle can more easily adapt to ELF intercultural communication.

Having shown that ELF does not indicate English native speaker identity but is based on the multilingual composition of the communities' interlocutors, it is possible to assume that the ELF concept is very likely a solution for the difficult linguistic and political situation in the EU. Various aspects of ELF point to its usefulness and suitability for the EU context. ELF as such does not carry identity but through the diverse backgrounds of its interlocutors a multicultural and multilingual group identity is created, *ad hoc*, flexible and diverse in every encounter. ELF does not prescribe the adherence to native speaker norms but it describes the communicative strategies that are used to communicate efficiently and cooperate in an endeavour. ELF is not bound to a fixed speech community but it is used by a community of practice. ELF is not a variety connoted with a speech community but it is considered to be a register. The most important instruments to facilitate ELF communication are communicative strategies that make use of multilingual backgrounds of its interlocutors.

To sum up, ELF does not index a British or American identity but it reflects a multilingual identity, a European identity. Moreover ELF is not a variety and therefore does not belong to a fixed speech community (English native speaker) but it is a register used by a heterogeneous community of practice whose members are more efficiently the better they can make use of their multilingual backgrounds and communicative strategies. The membership in a community that is able to communicate in ELF and adapt the language spontaneously according to diverse compositions of communities creates an identity that is based on mutual understanding, cooperation and multilingualism, a European identity that supports "unity in diversity".

5. Multilingualism

5.1 Multilingualism according to the EU

The term multilingualism is used extensively in EU LPP, but it remains a controversial subject in linguistics what exactly multilingualism means in the EU LPP's context. In 1995 the EU stated for the first time that "Multilingualism is part and parcel of both European identity/citizenship and the learning society" (COM (95) 590: 47). In other words, multilingualism was related to European identity. But as at this time the term itself was not yet defined explicitly, it might have been the ideological values of equality associated with multilingualism as well as its historical significance for Europe that were linked to European identity. Franceschini argues that in order to define multilingualism it is necessary to understand the attitudes and values connected to it. According to her, multilingualism is not only an "intrinsically social way of life and cultural practice" but "there is an actual sociopolitically driven interest connected" (2011: 344).

Only in 2005, in *The New Framework Strategy on Multilingualism*, multilingualism was defined as "both a person's ability to use several languages and the coexistence of different language communities in one geographical area" (COM (05) 596: 3). According to this first definition, for EU LPP both individual as well as societal multilingualism are of importance in the European context. Yet, although a distinction is made between the two definitions of multilingualism, several elements lack clarity. First of all it is not mentioned how exactly the "ability to use" languages is to be understood. It is not clear how well, in which communicative situations and in which domains the languages are "used". As this definition is the basis for EU LPP which influences teaching in every European country, a clearer set of goals would be needed. Moreover the definition does not describe the different competences reading, writing, listening and speaking. Besides ambiguity concerning this first part of the definition of individual bilingualism, it is also not stated how many languages need to be used in order to be a multilingual. According to this definition individual multilingualism is any kind of use of any number of languages (more than one) by an individual. In order to improve individual multilingualism of European citizens it needs to be made clear what a

European multilingual individual is capable of doing, otherwise imprecise LPP and ultimately ineffective LPP might be the result.

The second part concerning societal multilingualism describes in general the coexistence of any language communities in any geographical area. The term coexistence covers various diverse situations from the concurrence of majority languages with minority languages or migrant languages to the situation in countries with several official languages. This definition does not take into account the diverse effects these miscellaneous linguistic landscapes have on local communities and national LPP.

In addition to this understanding of multilingualism the EU furthermore states what multilingualism means on the official website for languages in the EU in the *frequently asked questions* section (http://ec.europa.eu/languages/orphans/faq_en.htm#1 20 April 2013). It is the "the ability to speak and master several languages". And moreover multilingualism can also be understood as "a policy requiring an organisation, a company or an institution to use more than one language for its internal and/or external communication". It is striking that the definition used on the EU languages' webpage is not the same as the definition used in LPP documents. Although it might be understandable to formulate complicated definitions and laws less complex on a webpage, the definition from 2005 is already easy to understand and based on common knowledge. The first part on the webpage is similar to the definition from 2005 but not identical and the second part adds another aspect to the issue, namely concrete policy measures to use several languages in a company or institution. This could refer to the use of 27 official European languages by the European institutions for example. It remains unclear why this aspect of multilingualism is described on the webpage as it is actually the effect of multilingual LPP and not multilingualism itself. Interestingly this explanation of multilingualism leaves out the definition of societal multilingualism and it is not stated why this aspect is not part of this definition.

To sum up, various EU documents define the term multilingualism differently or they do not define it all. And the definitions available do not mention language

competence levels, the amount of use, domains of use nor do they distinguish between specific local and national linguistic situations.

5.2. Multilingualism. A Linguistic Perspective

In linguistic research there are also different definitions of the term multilingualism. First of all it should be know that a great majority of research focus is on a specific variety of multilingualism, namely bilingualism. Hence it is difficult to adapt most of the definitions to the European context, where multilingualism does not only mean the coexistence of two languages but more.

An important scholar in research on multilingualism, John Edwards (1994: 33) describes multilingualism as the "[…] ability to speak, at some level, more than one language". This definition is indefinite on the language competence level required as well as the number of languages spoken. But Edwards adds that multilingualism is a global phenomenon and bilingualism is its most widely spread variety. As has been discussed also in Chapter 3, the coexistence of several languages in a country and individuals' bilingual competences are reality in every country, which goes along with Edwards' description of the global phenomenon. Lüdi claims that "at the end of the 20th century, one or another form of multilingualism affect 60 per cent of the world's population" (2006: 20). According to Edwards there are several reasons for worldwide multilingualism. He states that language contact situations emerge due to migration as well as territorial expansion. Moreover political unions such as Switzerland and Canada and federations like Africa are also reasons for the existence multilingualism. In addition to that multilingualism is also visible in border areas such as the border between Mexico and America (ibid).

The distinction between different situations in which multilingualism occurs, helps to better describe different linguistic situations in the EU. Due to migration various languages coexist in every European nation. The distinct mixture of languages in an area asks for a differentiation between different linguistic situations. Moreover border areas that for example in Austria lead to a status of Slovenian and Croatian as minority languages in these areas need special consideration. Both these situations, migrant and as well as minority languages, should be approached to on

a national level. In EU LPP there are some attempts to treat these languages differently, but they are referred to in general and specific national/local situations are not addressed. It is for example interesting that Croatian in Austria has the status of a minority language and is at the same time considered a migrant language. Therefore Croatian is the medium of instruction in some schools in the Eastern part of Austria and it was taught in primary schools on a national level as a migrant language due to a migrant wave during the war ("muttersprachlicher Unterricht"). As there are a large number of speakers of Croatian in Austria, which are referred to either as minorities or migrants (or by now second generation migrants), the topic needs special attention. One could say that as this situation is so specific it cannot be treated by EU LPP. But nevertheless Croatian is a minority language such as Occitan in France and yet it needs to be treated differently as the situations cannot be lumped together. In Austria Croatian is a minority language not only because it occurs in a border area but it is also a migrant language. Occitan in France is minority language spoken by a large minority community that has always existed in this area. Therefore different ideologies and attitudes have developed in these communities and an effective LPP has to take these into consideration.

Besides these distinctive linguistic situations, which should be treated individually and on a national level, the EU can also be considered a political union which leads to multilingualism in Edwards' definition. Although Edwards only names the classic examples Switzerland, Belgium and Canada, all of which have been investigated on extensively in linguistic research, the EU also falls into this category as it is a political union combining different linguistic communities. So far there are only few research projects focusing on EU multilingualism taking into account LPP, different examples of language contact zones as well as specific language ideologies and attitudes. As Edwards mentions in his work on multilingualism, two strategies are used to overcome "language gaps", namely lingua francas and translation. And so far especially the research on English as a lingua franca (ELF) has looked at European multilingualism from a broader perspective including LPP, examples of ELF communication in various domains and language attitudes and identity in ELF communication. It is also this linguistic field which adapts a rather holistic view on languages and the concept of ELF, in

contrast to traditional static definitions of distinct, countable languages as can be seen in Chapter 4.

5.3. A New Understanding of Multilingualism

In research on bilingualism it was traditionally distinguished between *societal, institutional* and *individual* bilingualism (cf. Lüdi 1996). Franceschini (2011: 346) proposes a new way to look at the different manifestations of bi- and multilingualism and states that it is necessary to understand also overlaps between the different *dimensions* of multilingualism. Moreover she adds another dimension, namely the *discursive* multilingualism of groups (ibid.:347). This new dimension describes language practices of groups that use for example a lingua franca to communicate. According to Franceschini these occurrences of multilingualism do not fit into any of the three aforementioned dimensions but they can be described through discursive multilingualism as its focus lies on interaction (ibid.).

Franceschini defines multilingualism as follows:

> Multilingualism conveys the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to have regular use of more than one language in their everyday lives over space and time. (ibid.: 346)

Over the last decades, starting already in the eighties, a new way of conceptualizing languages has emerged which goes beyond defining multilingualism as the use and coexistence of a specific number of languages. Makoni and Pennycook (2005) further developed Reagan's (2004) theory that "language – *any* language – is constantly changing, and in flux" and that it is not possible to define the boundaries between languages. They base their "disinvention" (Makoni & Pennycook 2005: 137) on this new understanding of languages and argue that "[…] *languages* – and the *metalanguages* used to describe them – are inventions"(ibid 138). Similarly Lüdi claims that the separation of languages and the creation of boundaries between languages are influenced by ideologies (Lüdi 2006: 31). As these invented concepts have influence on language ideologies and LPP it is Makoni's and Pennycook's goal to "disinvent and reconstitute" the traditional understanding of languages. According to them the traditional definition of languages as distinct unities influences the definition and understanding of other concepts such as multilingualism, which is then only a "pluralisation of monolingualism" (ibid. 148)

as languages are only added to the monolingual standard. In their book published in 2007 they claim that the understanding of multilingualism has consequences in various linguistic areas (Makoni & Pennycook 2007: 36). Thus language tests that only focus on the language repertoire of test subjects in one language and do not take into account the diverse linguistic repertoire of them is outdated. Moreover the traditional view of languages as separate entities influences language teaching.

They claim that instead of perceiving language learning as an addition of languages, a "transidiomatic practice" (ibid.) should be adapted. Lüdi argues along the same line stating that today multlingualism is understood as integral and polylectal (2006: 12). And when it comes to language policies, a new perspective could also change current problems, according to Makoni and Pennycook:

> If language policy could focus on translingual language practices rather than language entities, far more progress might be made in domains such as language education. (Makoni & Pennycook 2007: 36)

Blackledge takes this new definition of languages into consideration as well as Heller's (2007: 1 in Blackledge 2010: 25) critical approach to language practices influenced by social and political contexts and creates a new understanding of multlingualism. On this new theoretical basis he investigates on multlingualism from a holistic point of view.

> […] we are moving towards a conception of linguistic practices as multiple, plural, shifting and eclectic, by drawing on features of what we might call 'languages', but calling into play linguistic features and means from diverse sources. (ibid. 25)

The new conceptualization of languages as hybrid and fluid does not only have implications for the definition of multilingualism but is also important for the understanding of ELF. According to Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer (forthc.) ELF communication needs to be analyzed from this point of view, moving away from traditional countable language entities to a holistic perspective that focuses on communicative practices. And thus ELF is a multilingual practice that is based on the diverse linguistic repertoires of its users and influenced by the context as well as the cultural background of the interlocutors (ibid.).

Likewise MacKenzie (2012: 84) notes that the linguistic strategies used by multilinguals are similar to those used by ELF users. Therefore he claims that:

> [...] ELF [...] may be the perfect arena for multilinguals to exploit [...] a multilingual system in which mental representations from different languages interact, and more than one language can be activated at the same time. (ibid.)

If we now analyze the EU's definition of multilingualism, taking into consideration the new approaches to language, it becomes clear that these definitions are somewhat outdated and do not account for a modern view of languages in a globalized EU.

DYLAN, a project funded by the EU, brought together a team of members from 12 countries and developed new ways of looking at multilingualism in the EU analyzing multilingual situations and creating ideas for a more effective EU LPP. As a result this project takes on a "functional conception of multilingualism" (The DYLAN Project Booklet: 21). The traditional definition of multilingualism as addition of languages is based on the idea that languages have fixed boundaries and are linked to a nation. The holistic and functional approach does not take languages as a fixed prerequisite but it is "[...] language use ('languaging') [that] precedes language [...]" (ibid.). In the focus of this understanding of multilingualism are the linguistic practices and repertoires of its users, the multilingual mode. In providing further evidence for the development of cognitive processes and creativity through multilingualism (ibid. 14; 16) it is made clear in the DYLAN booklet that a multilingualism policy is not only an effect of globalization but it actually is an asset and advantage. English is of great importance in the EU and so it is suggested to adopt a "'partnership' between the use of a lingua franca and multilingual interaction" (ibid. 22). Hence the coexistence of ELF and multilingualism is not regarded a contradiction.

6. Contradictions and Oppositions. A Conclusion

Do what you will, this world's a fiction and is made up of contradiction.
William Blake

Contradictions do not exist. Whenever you think you are facing a contradiction, check your premises. You will find that one of them is wrong.
 Ayn Rand

In formal logic, a contradiction is the signal of defeat, but in the evolution of real knowledge it marks the first step in progress toward a victory.
Alfred North Whitehead

So far this thesis focused on various aspects important for a better understanding of EU LPP and its problems. The goal of this chapter is to bring these different strands together and to find overall trends. It has been shown that recurring problems in EU LPP are contradictions and strong oppositions. The duality, the black and white, can be observed in the field of EU politics, in linguistics as well as on a societal level. If it were possible to examine these issues from a different angle, creating a fluid perspective that allows for more than simply black and white, yes and no, it might be possible to find new solutions for old problems. In order to cope with challenges in EU LPP in the upcoming years it will be necessary to include different aspects from various fields into the discussion. The following chapter illustrates various aspects that need to be included in a discussion on new solutions for EU LPP problems.

6.1. Unity in Diversity

The EU slogan "unity in diversity" seems to be a contradiction. How can a group be united when its main characteristic is diversity? The EU describes the official motto on the European Union homepage as follows:

> It signifies how Europeans have come together, in the form of the EU, to work for peace and prosperity, while at the same time being enriched by the continent's many different cultures, traditions and languages. (http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/symbols/motto/, 6 May 2013)

As is described in great detail in Chapter 4, Buchholz and Hall (2010: 18-28) elaborate on 5 principles of identity formation. One Category is the relationality principle, which describes the complementary relations of identity. According to the subcategory similarity-difference a group does not need to be identical but there need to be enough similarities to interact. Hence a coherent unity needs aspects of sameness. An individual claiming to be part of a group needs to have something in common with the group members, some crucial characteristics need to link the members. These characteristics can be common interests, heritage, life stories, illnesses or gender. In a soccer team although the team members might have diverse cultural backgrounds and life styles, the main characteristics of the group members, the common interest to play soccer as well as a level of professionalism that the members all agree upon, are the connective links in a heterogeneous group. A self-help group for alcohol abusers brings together people of different age, with different life stories and diverse reasons for their illness. The common link is the illness and the wish to find a way to deal with the problem they all have. A group defines itself by these main characteristics.

But what is the link that holds together the EU? Since the foundation of the EEC (European Economy Community, precursor of the EU), it was the common goal of the different nations involved in it to create a common economic market, to support cooperation and to form a peaceful European continent. The reasons to work together and to regulate certain aspects of politics on a supranational level have always been based on economic welfare, technological and scientific leadership as well as peaceful cooperation between nations that had been at war against each other for centuries.

In the course of the last decades, the aims of the union changed and so a union without frontiers was created where people, money, goods and services can move around freely. The EU moved closer together and cooperation became more important. As a result of the elimination of boarders in the EU and an easier mobility of people across the whole union, people started to study and work abroad more frequently. Very successful European programs such as Erasmus have supported the ongoing development of a new European generation for whom national borders are less visible and the "territory on which they conceive their

lives has widened immensely" (LiET2020 2010: 31). For this generation the EU is not simply a union of nations cooperating for economic reasons. It is a territory without borders in which they can move freely, use one common currency and increasingly frequently speak with other Europeans in one common language, most often ELF. But despite the fact that national borders do not exist anymore the way they did 18 years ago, the EU is still a union of different nations, political systems, cultures, heritages and languages. And the differences between the 27 member states are visible whenever decisions are made, problems and solutions discussed.

The EU and everything it stands for is based on the slogan "unity in diversity" and in trying to adhere to its leitmotif the EU decides upon policies such as the "mother tongue+2". On the one hand the learning of two languages in addition to the heritage language reflects the EU characteristic of diversity. The union consists of different nations, cultures and languages and is thus diverse. The promotion of multilingualism aims at creating a population of diverse multilingual Europeans. On the other hand the EU claims that the unifying element in the EU is its diversity and so in creating diverse multilingual Europeans unity is achieved.

But what if the policy actually worked and Europeans did all know two additional languages to their heritage language? How would this unite the union, especially taking into account the EU's promotion of languages other than English? It is stated in several EU LPP documents that learning foreign languages supports mutual understanding, as discussed in Chapter 2. If people learned a variety of languages, official European languages, then only those would be able to understand each other mutually who spoke the same language. It seems to be highly complex and difficult to create a unified EU in which "greater solidarity and mutual understanding" (COM 2005 596: 2) are fostered through multilingualism. Of course this is not say that multilingualism is not an asset worth fighting for, but studies presented in Chapter 2 show that the "mother tongue+2" policy has not had the desired effect so far. Yes, in the Erasmus project unity amongst young Europeans is achieved through the goal to learn a foreign language. But at the same time the most frequently used language to communicate with fellow Erasmus colleagues is ELF (cf. Kalocsai 2009). And yes, Erasmus allows students to live in a foreign

country for some months, learn about the customs and culture of that country and also develop knowledge of the language. But even the language the national Erasmus organization uses to communicate with the students is English (see for example in the ESN Wien group on facebook: https://www.facebook.com/esn.uniwien?fref=ts, 6 May 2013). And thus similar English language competences in all member states is a crucial element in the creation of a united EU whose citizens are able to communicate with one another. But new findings in ELF research and the new holistic understanding of languages and multilingualism also provides evidence for the importance of linguistic and intercultural strategies such as accommodation and negotiation of meaning (Hülmbauer, Böhringer & Seidlhofer 2008: 33) and language support (cf. Kaur 2011). Similarly Kirkpatrick notes (2007: 194) that it is important to teach communicative strategies that facilitate intercultural and multilingual ELF communication. In addition to that the learning of other foreign languages still needs to be supported as successful ELF communication is influenced by rich linguistic backgrounds of the interlocutors. Programs such as Erasmus are probably the best promotion for foreign language learning and furthermore they bring Europeans closer together and allow them to communicate, cooperate and celebrate together.

6.2. Multilingualism :: One Common Language|ELF

The EU LPP's goals are not only the creation of a unified EU based on mutual understanding but more aims should be achieved through the multilingualism policy. EU LPP intents to build a union in which social cohesion, intercultural dialogue, economic prosperity and competiveness are developed through the *mother tongue+2* policy (cf. Chapter 2). But despite the EU LPP there is a trend to mainly learn and teach English in the member states. The study *Europeans and Their Languages,* discussed in Chapter 2 shows that half of the Europeans speak one additional language and only one quarter speaks two additional languages. It has furthermore been shown in this thesis that this first additional language is English. Hence it is only understandable that there is a strong opposition fighting the dominance and spread of English.

Nevertheless, as has been shown in Chapter 2, it is a fact that English dominates the European linguistic landscape and instead of fighting against it, the positive power of English, or rather ELF, in the EU should be further examined. A closer look at the theory around ELF shows that this concept does not stay in stark opposition to multilingualism, but it is, on the contrary, promoting multilingualism. Melo-Pfeifer (2012) analyzed ELF in chatroom conversations between speakers of different Romance languages in which it was prohibited to use English. The results of her investigation show that:

> [...] English participates in the individuals' co-construction, negotiation and management of intercomprehension in Romance Languages, by being mobilised and activated simultaneously with other components of the subjects' shared intercultural plurilingual repertoires. (Melo-Pfeifer 2012: 16)

According to Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer, in their chapter "English as a lingua franca in European multilingualism" which will be published in the next months, ELF is understood as a multilingual mode (Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer forthc.) as it is created through the activation of plurlingual resources. ELF is a tool that facilitates intercultural communication, allows its users to adapt the language according to the communicative situation and enables the users to indicate their own identity without adhering to the English native speaker identity. And so Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer claim that:

> ELF provides the possibility of extending the linguistic repertoire to account for the need for intercultural communication without undermining the role of various other languages and the expression of distinct sociocultural identities. From this perspective, ELF does not undermine multilingual diversity but actually helps to sustain it. (Hülmbauer & Seidlhofer forthc.)

Hence it might be useful to further investigate ELF in Europe and how this concept fits into EU LPP. Such a study of ELF will help to change the current understanding of English as the language of the British and American and show that ELF belongs to all its users (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2011). Furthermore this enquiry will also support multilingualism and the learning of other languages, as a greater linguistic repertoire will improve ELF communication. The development of strategic competences which underlie effective ELF communication will help to learn and understand other languages. And despite the promotion of ELF, other

European languages will still be learned because in the future more Europeans are likely move from their home country to other European states to work or study.

Overall it can be said that language learning is a matter of degree. So far EU LPP has not set any regulations on the competences levels that need to be achieved. It will be important to decide how well Europeans should speak foreign languages in the future. The EU has developed a framework to describe language competences, the CEFR, and it is now necessary to implement this framework in all EU Member States. Competences in languages for international communication, mostly ELF, will have to be very high. But competences for the second additional languages might be lower, depending on what the goal is. What is the purpose of learning additional language number one and what is the purpose for language two? If these purposes were defined more explicitly then competence levels could be decided upon. This could lead to an equal education of all Europeans (as equal as any education can be).

In addition to this it may be necessary to rethink the traditional description of language competences and to add competences of intercultural communication to the CEFR. So far the CEFR is native speaker oriented. Moreover it is still influenced by the traditional conceptualization of languages as distinct entities, separated from each other, and it does not take into account new descriptions of a holistic perspective on multilingualism. Findings in ELF research and studies on intercultural communication should be integrated into the CEFR so that communicative strategies important for intercultural communication in the EU and globally are also taught in the foreign language classrooms all over Europe.

The DYLAN project described in Chapter 5 shows that there are already initiatives promoting a "partnership" between ELF and multilingualism. It is definitely necessary to overcome ideological assumptions about languages based on the historical development of standard national languages in Europe (cf. Chapter 3). These languages, the boundaries that demarcate one language from another are invented (cf. Chapter 5: Makoni & Pennycook 2005: 138). We need to look at actual linguistic practices, the linguistic reality in the EU to find out that while attitudes and fears concerning language loss and linguistic inequalities are still entrenched

in people's minds, there is already an actual coexistence of ELF and multilingualism. In order to overcome old ideological misconceptions it needs to be further investigated what languages really are and how languages and intercultural communication actually work.

Research on ELF has already started to examine language practices (e.g. Jenkins 2000; *phonology*; Breiteneder 2005 and Hülmbauer 2007: *lexicogrammar*; Cogo & Dewey 2006: *pragmatics*), attitudes and identity (e.g. Jenkins 2007) as well as implications ELF could have for language teaching (e.g. Seidlhofer 2011). The traditional, ideological and politically motivated understanding of languages needs to be revised in order to create a realistic and effective EU LPP that works on the creation of a "partnership" between ELF and multilingualism.

6.3. Policy :: Reality

Since its foundation languages have played an important role in the EU, in the last 20 years more prominently. It has been shown (cf. Chapter 2) that in the first phase of EU LPP language learning was regarded as a basic skill similarly important as for example IT skills. In the second phase, in which a separate portfolio was created for European multilingualism, language learning was associated with social, economic and demographic aspects. This attitude seems to change in the third phase in which the importance of languages for the economy is again highlighted and in the focus of EU LPP. Latest publications, which are part of the third phase of Krzyzanowski's and Wodak's (2011) model discussed in Chapter 2, reintroduce the advantages of multilingualism for social cohesion, economy and diversity. In the 20 years of intensive LPP the objectives and reasons for the promotion of multilingualism have changed several times, but the main goal remained the same: the support of multilingualism through the "mother tongue+2" policy.

However, this policy contradicts reality as has been described in Chapter 2. Despite the armada of recommendations, guidelines and frameworks still almost 50% of the EU citizens are not able to communicate in even one additional language (Europeans and their Languages 2012: 12). And only one quarter states that they speak two additional languages (ibid.). Moreover a gap in EU LPP leads to more

undesirable outcomes. The fact that it is not mentioned which language competence level needs to be achieved, creates a union in which although languages are learned, the competence levels vary to such a great extent that disequilibrium between member states is visible and inequalities are the result (cf. Chapter 2: First European Survey on Language Competences 2012). Besides these aspects it needs to be mentioned that the EU refuses to accept a common European language for easier communication. Nevertheless it is the wish of 69% of the Europeans that everyone speaks one common language and of 53% that the EU uses one single language to communicate with its citizens. Moreover two examples of young Europeans, University students, underline this wish for and acceptance of one common European language and the maintenance and support of linguistic diversity on a national level (cf. Chapter 2 and 3).

According to the findings of three studies (Chapter 2) and one proposition paper of the student organization AEGEE, it is necessary to adapt EU LPP. Although AEGEE is ambivalent in that it asks for a common European language which, according to them, cannot be any official European as this would contradict the demand for linguistic diversity, still the trend points towards the demand for a common European language, which ELF already is. It could foster supranational cooperation, the exchange of information and knowledge as well as intercultural dialogue. A common language will facilitate and speed up the communication between the EU and its citizens as well as the communication between citizens. As has been shown in Chapter 3 the implementation of a common language in supranational domains does not influence the heritage language use in diverse domains on a national level. It is therefore unnecessary to fear language loss or language death of national languages. Nevertheless it is important to support minority and migrant languages as the acceptance of these languages in more domains is crucial for language vitality and social cohesion. The fear of the "killer" language English on a European level remains nonetheless unfounded. In order to overcome this fear it is necessary to understand the actual use and functions of English, namely its status as ELF in Europe. The reconceptualization of English as ELF in EU LPP as well as in people's minds is crucial so that it can be understood why the fears are unnecessary. Moreover it needs to be made clear that the support of ELF can contribute to the creation of equality and unity and at the same

time support multilingualism. It is thus not a contradiction of today's EU LPP but it is a further development and reconceptualization of English and languages in general in the face of globalization.

6.4. Language for Communication :: Language of Identification

Languages are central aspects of identity. Through language we indicate parts of our identity and we adapt the language accordingly. Language attitudes define our perception of accents and languages. And thus using a certain language, variety or accent transmits a message. A language of identification indicates the belonging to a group, a speech community and most often it is based on an ideological and traditional definition of what the language is and to whom it belongs (cf. Chapter 4).

In contrast to this, lingua francas are simply considered languages for communication. ELF for example does not have a fixed speech community nor is the language as such fixed and hence some scholars assume that it is not a language of identification (cf. Chapter 4: House 2008: 67). This of course helps to argue that because ELF is not a language of identification but only a means to communicate, it is not a threat to national languages and European linguistic diversity because it is only a tool, a vehicle to transmit information across linguistic boundaries. But other scholars go beyond this assumption and point out that besides the fact that it is not only not a threat to linguistic diversity, it more importantly promotes and supports multilingualism. As Cogo (2012: 103) explains, ELF is not a neutral means of communication but it is shaped by the multiple identities of its interlocutors. It is furthermore argued in Chapter 4 that ELF users identify with the concept behind ELF that is diversity, teamwork, accommodation and mutual understanding of people with diverse cultural backgrounds. Moreover ELF communication, shaped *ad hoc*, also creates *ad hoc* a community and feeling of belonging. This can for example be observed in Cogo's analyzes of an ELF interaction in which communality is indexed through the statement "we are all foreigners" (ibid.: 101). Members of this changing and hybrid *community of practice* then identify with each other through common prerequisites that ask for cooperation and mutual support (cf. Kalocsai 2009: 34). In addition to that people able to successfully take part in

an ELF communication can identify not only with a European but with a global community of practice (cf. Canagarajah's *local & global*; Byram's *intercultural citizenship* Chapter 4). It is thus important to distinguish between identification with a fixed speech community and identification with concepts underlying ELF as well as a global community in addition to the identification with the native language community of primary socialization. As ELF does not belong to a fixed speech community but it is used by a hybrid community of practice which creates a sense of communality *ad hoc* depending on its interlocutors, participants in ELF communication do not necessarily identify with the speech community of Standard English. These new findings in ELF research need to be taken into consideration to establish a new, effective EU LPP.

6.5. Nation=Language :: New Forms of Communication|New Understanding of Languages

The role of languages in state formation in the 18th and 19th century has been discussed extensively in Chapter 2. It has been shown that languages have contributed to national identity formation and that from these centuries onwards states were defined partially through the national language. Until today these ideological concepts are integral parts in attitudes towards languages as well as LPP. To support other languages than the national language is still considered a threat not only to the national language but to the power of the nation itself (Chapter 3: Ammon; Phillipson). The link between languages and nations are still so influential that in order to guarantee equality the EU maintains its multilingual policy and works with 27 official languages. Moreover initiatives to prevent national languages from foreign influences are still supported (Académie francaise, Verein Muttersprache Wien www.muttersprache.at 23 April 2013) and a linguistic fight against the "killer language" English shows that also in research these assumptions persist.

But as has been shown in Chapter 2, the survey *Languages in Europe towards 2020* explains that young Europeans do not consider English a threat to national languages (LiET 2010: 31), but embrace its power in intercultural communication. Moreover it is made clear in the study that changes in the economy, the internet as

well as a growing mobility changes the way people communicate. Both, a lingua franca as well as multilingualism, are necessary for these new developments. The study concludes that is necessary to overcome fears of English dominance embedded in the traditional understanding of languages bound to national identities. Instead it is necessary to investigate on the role of English in a multilingual Europe (Chapter 2).

Old conceptualizations of languages, nations and English have influenced EU LPP to a great extent so far. Languages are powerful instruments and they have contributed to nation building and the creation of national identities in Europe. But times have changed and in a globalized world and an EU based on the four freedoms, people move across national boundaries, study and work in foreign countries and communicate with their friends and family in other countries via new forms of communication made available through the internet. Hybrid identities are influenced by these changes in economy, life style and communication and so affiliation with nations have changed as well. Especially the younger generation in Europe seems to be less bound to their home countries and willing to study and work abroad (Chapter 2). And these young Europeans see the need for a common European language. But the two different examples of European students mentioned in this thesis show that there are still doubts about the acceptance of English as a common European language. The student organization AEGEE still states that is impossible to guarantee linguistic diversity when an official European language is chosen to be the common European language. Nevertheless they ask for the implementation of such a common language. In contrast to the bias opinion in this example, the survey on University students in Sofia shows that they have no problems with English as the common European language of communication.

6.6. In a Nutshell

As has been shown extensively throughout this thesis, the new understanding of English as a Lingua Franca is the solution to overcome the divergence between traditional concepts of *one nation – one language – one identity* and new changes on an economic and societal level:

◊ ELF is a multilingual mode. It promotes and demands multilingualism and therefore it supports the main EU language policy goal.

◊ ELF is *not* a threat to linguistic diversity and it does *not* belong to the native speaker but to every user. Therefore English native speaker are not in a dominant position but they are rather disadvantaged in ELF communication.

◊ ELF allows the speakers to index diverse identities which are not bound to Standard English native speaker identities. ELF communication is influenced by the diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds of its interlocutors and new identities are co-constructed.

And in the future?

◊ A new EU LPP needs to accept the linguistic reality in Europe.
As there is a demand for one common European language and English is the actual lingua franca and already accepted to a great extent in Europe, it is necessary to further investigate the concept and power of ELF in the EU and how it can fulfill EU LPP goals of multilingualism.

◊ It is necessary to further describe and examine multilingualism from a holistic point of view. What are languages and does languaging work?

◊ ELF is an established concept in linguistic research. Further insights on intercultural communication and multilingualism in conjunction with ELF are necessary.

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Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Die Europäische Union basiert auf dem Leitspruch „in Vielfalt geeint" und hat 27 offizielle Amtsprachen. Die Europäische Sprachenpolitik hat es sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die europäische Diversität und Mehrsprachigkeit durch die *Muttersprache+2* Politik zu unterstützen und zu fördern. Gleichzeitig wird außerdem in einigen Gesetzestexten und behauptet, „Englisch ist nicht genug". Aber im Zeitalter der Globalisierung ist die Macht und Dominanz des Englischen unbestritten und deshalb ist es notwendig die Rolle des Englischen in der EU genauer zu untersuchen. Die folgende Studie untersucht die Effizienz der EU Sprachenpolitik sowie die Rolle des Englischen für die Mehrsprachigkeit in der EU. Die Beschreibung einer Vielzahl von EU Sprachpolitik Dokumenten wird verglichen mit drei kürzlich publizierten Studien über die reale linguistische Situation in der der EU. Diese Gegenüberstellung soll die Diskrepanz zwischen Politik und Realität aufzeigen. Darauf folgt eine Übersicht über die historischen Entwicklungen der Nationalsprachen in Europa um existierende Sprachideologien, die bis heute Sprachenpolitik beeinflussen, besser zu verstehen. Die Analyse der Debatte in der Linguistik über die Dominanz und Macht des Englischen im globalen Kontext sowie auf europäischen Niveau, zeigt, dass das Thema bis heute heiß diskutiert und umstritten ist und noch keine Einigung gefunden wurde. Im letzten Teil der Arbeit wird eine Alternative beschrieben, mit der traditionelle Ideologien und Konzepte des Englischen und der Mehrsprachigkeit überwunden werden können, English as a Lingua Franca. ELF Forschung beschreibt das Englisch, welches in kommunikativen Situationen verwendet wird, in denen die Gesprächspartner keine gemeinsame Muttersprache haben und auf das Englische zurückgreifen. Neue Konzeptualisierungen von ELF werden analysiert und ein spezieller Fokus wird auf Identität und Gemeinschaft im Zusammenhang mit ELF gelegt. Zusätzlich wird das Konzept der Mehrsprachigkeit aus der holistischen Perspektive definiert. Die Ergebnisse des Vergleichs der Sprachenpolitik mit den drei Studien zeigen, dass ein immenser Unterschied zwischen EU Sprachenpolitik und Realität existiert. Außerdem erfüllen traditionelle Ideologien basierend auf dem Konzept *eine Nation – eine Sprache – eine Identität* nicht die neuen Anforderungen an Sprachenpolitik in der EU. Weiters zeigt die Untersuchung der Theorie des ELF (z.B. Cogo 2012; House 2008; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011), dass es ein multilingualer Modus ist,

der Mehrsprachigkeit, Individualität und Kooperation unterstützt. Die Ergebnisse der vorliegenden Studie machen deutlich, dass es notwendig ist EU Sprachenpolitik an die eigentliche sprachliche Situation in der EU anzupassen. Um Ungleichheiten zu überwinden und Europäer näher zusammenzubringen ist es essentiell in der EU Sprachenpolitik Raum für ELF zu lassen um Mehrsprachigkeit zu fördern.

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